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# *Music and Letters*

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## SCHUBERT'S UNFINISHED SYMPHONY IN D

BY MAURICE J. E. BROWN

A MANUSCRIPT containing sketches for a symphony which Schubert wrote in May 1818 was exhibited in 1928 at the Centenary Exhibition of his work in Vienna. In the catalogue of this Exhibition appears the entry:

571. SKETCHES FOR A SYMPHONY IN D.

Opened at the sketch of the beginning, and at the sketch of an Allegro movement (finale), which shows the quasi-contrapuntal working of a theme. The sketch, like most of Schubert's, is in piano score, with occasional instrumentation indicated.

A passing reference to the work is made by O. E. Deutsch in his article 'The Riddle of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony' ('Music Review', February 1940), but there is no mention of it in 'Schubert: A Documentary Biography' or in Gerald Abraham's 'Schubert: A Symposium'. The sketches are in the Vienna City Library; and through the kind permission of the Director and the generosity of a Viennese friend I have received photo-copies. My surprise on examining them was akin to Grove's when he received the manuscript of Schubert's sketched Symphony in E of 1821. Even if these 1818 sketches are not of the same importance they are far from negligible, and certainly not slight in quantity. They consist of thirty-four closely written pages—of piano score, be it noted, not full score.

There are altogether no fewer than seven symphonic movements sketched in this manuscript. That only one symphony was to emerge from the enormous amount of material assembled is easily established: first, from the associated keys of the movements, which all circle closely round the tonic key of the symphony; secondly, from our knowledge of Schubert's practice in those years of sketching

more movements than he would need for a finished work; thirdly, from the fact that there is only one "first movement" at the start, the others being sketches of slow movements, scherzo and finales. The projected movements vary greatly in length and substance. Three of them, the slow movement in D major, the Andante in B minor and the Scherzo in D major, are virtually complete; the first movement, however, extends only as far as the end of the exposition. The interest of the manuscript, quite apart from its intrinsic worth, which is high, lies in its revelation that Schubert drafted his work painstakingly and, as he drafted, rejected or revised in a way unsuspected by those who look upon him as an unselfcritical, instinctive and impatient workman. Rapid and fluent these sketches certainly are, sometimes almost indecipherably so, but if a passage is considered unworthy it is slashed savagely through, and it is either recommenced or the movement is abandoned and started afresh. Even the Beethovenian practice of theme-modification is apparent. One finale movement is recommenced three times, and the gradual threefold shaping of the theme, until even then it is not cast into a congenial form, is of the highest interest. It is obvious from the nature of others of his symphony scores that sketches preceded them; they are clearly copies made from existing work, which Schubert probably destroyed when the score was completed. Only the great C major Symphony was *prima facie* composed in score, although Schubert's letter to B. Schott's Sons of February 21st 1828 raises doubts in the mind.

The 1818 manuscript consists of thirty-four "long oblong" pages (seventeen leaves) of sixteen-stave ruling. Each leaf is signed at the foot by the first owner of the manuscript, Nicolaus Dumba, that great Schubertian collector of the nineteenth century, who was one of the chief inspirers of a collected edition of Schubert's work. It is entitled "Symphonie", showing that when Schubert's intention was to sketch a symphony in piano score he did not call it a sonata for two or four hands. That it was intended for the full orchestra which he had used in his previous symphony, No. 6 in C major, is evident, even though the instrumental marking is scanty. Flute, oboe, clarinet, horns and timpani are all indicated and, in addition, there are passages scored for trombones—Schubert's first use of them in a symphony. Whether, in view of an actual performance, he would have modified this orchestra and dispensed with the trombones is a matter of conjecture. Beside the title are the date "May 1818" and Schubert's signature.

The greater part of the music is perfectly legible, for Schubert wrote a beautiful and stylish hand. Here and there his hasty

response to the urging of his imagination leads to difficulties in reading, but nowhere is he absolutely incomprehensible. One red herring trailed in the work consists of a harmonized scale of C major, followed by two canons by inversion, one at the fourth and one at the thirteenth, of innocuous quality—evidently the fossilized remains of a pupil's work.\* At one point in the B minor Andante movement it seems hopeless to decipher Schubert's intention; a flowing counterpoint on the second violins simply will not do for the melody above it. And then one notices a faint cabalistic sign over the word "Secondo" and the corresponding reference mark farther back in the movement, and these two sections when placed together fit perfectly. Another difficulty occurs when, without any indication in the score, Schubert mentally transposes the upper stave into the C clef, trusting to his scrawled "Pos . . ." (trombones) for his own guidance, but temporarily dumbfounding the student. Elsewhere a melody in F major is apparently harmonized in the left hand by a chord of G—B—D#. The solution proves in the end to be simple. The sharp is a badly scribbled tenor clef, contradicting a previous treble clef and, this fact grasped, the rest is plain sailing. Sections from one movement are embedded in others (but always carefully labelled), and the closing stages of his fugally worked finale, which gave him trouble, are divided into passages which fill up vacant spaces in earlier pages. But by careful attention to his connecting signs and hurriedly written indications it is possible to pursue this movement from the start to Schubert's double-bar flourishes at the end. These are the seven movements in the manuscript:

1. FIRST MOVEMENT.

Introduction: Adagio (D minor,  $\text{C}$ ), leading to *Allegro Moderato* (D major,  $\text{C}$ ).

2. SLOW MOVEMENT. (D major, 2-4.)

There is no indication of tempo, but the style of Schubert's early slow movements is here unmistakably.

3. FINALE. (D major, 4-4.)

Again, there is no indication of tempo, but the style is a guide, and later sketches verify the supposition. These later companion sketches are three in number, all in the same key, and with the same time signature:

(a) *Allegro maestoso*.

(b) Called by Schubert "Anfang" ("Beginning"—that is, for the beginning of the movement).

(c) *Presto*. This version has a short introduction marked *Andante* (B $\flat$ , 4-4).

\* The pupil may have been one of Count Esterházy's daughters, since it is thought that Schubert gave them lessons before his actual sojourn with the family at Zseliz in the summer of this year.



4. SLOW MOVEMENT. *Andante* (B minor, 3-8).

5. FINALE. *Presto* (D major, 2-4).

This is the finale with fugal episodes. One sketch has been entitled 'Scherzo' by Schubert, but this is palpably an error.

6. SCHERZO. (D major, 3-4) with TRIO (G major, 3-4).

The trio is entitled by Schubert, but the scherzo is not so called.

7. SLOW MOVEMENT. (A major, 3-8).

It is of importance, in considering these sketches, to bear in mind the fact that the apparent finality of the music is deceptive. Other sketches of Schubert's exist side by side with the finished product as it left his hands, most notably those for the unfinished Symphony in B minor and the last three sonatas for pianoforte. We are thereby given several opportunities of comparing his first and final drafts, and can appreciate that the merits of the 1818 sketches are yet only a part of the excellence that would have been achieved had he worked on to the final symphony. Had we no "unfinished" B minor, how magnificent its sketches would seem, crude and unformed as they are in the light of the finished product! The same undoubtedly applies to these seven movements, now to be considered in more detail.

The slow introduction is short (33 bars), and its chromaticism is similar to that in other introductions to Schubert's earlier symphonies. It opens boldly, and the motif and its later modification are both shown in the quotation:

**Ex. 1**

**Adagio**



Its purpose is purely to arouse expectancy, and the first movement proper enters *pianissimo* with this light-hearted theme:

**Ex. 2 Allegro moderato**



The gaiety persists to the end of the exposition, and the music provides several interesting possibilities; but on turning the page we find an abrupt breaking off, and no resumption of the movement anywhere farther on in the manuscript. It is pointless to speculate

on what the composer would have done with the above melody which, although it belongs to his early symphonic style, is an improvement on the somewhat trivial theme which provides the basis of the first movement of the previous symphony, No. 6.

Immediately after the conclusion of this first-movement sketch, Schubert began a slow movement. This is as good as complete—that is, if it were planned on the simple ternary lines of many of his slow movements—since the opening and middle sections are fully written out and the sketch closes with a passage leading back to and including the opening theme. It is a delicious and thoroughly Schubertian movement, although less worthy than the corresponding movement of his Symphony No. 5, in B $\flat$  major—tender, appealing and affectionate in tone, and as sweet as the month in which it was written. At the close of the melody appears the simple idea that is to grip his imagination and provide the heart of the movement:

Ex. 3

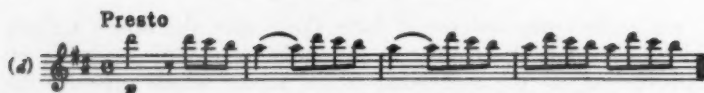


The harmonic changes wrought within the rhythm of the first bar and the extensive use of the semiquaver figure are of first-rate quality.

The finale-sketch which follows has, in all, four distinct but allied forms, all springing from the first conception. It is clear that this finale appealed strongly to the composer, and equally clear that he was reluctant to abandon it and yet unable to bring it off successfully. It is worthy of note, too, in connection with the second, third and fourth forms, that each is weaker in quality than its predecessor. The last is, apart from its introduction, merely trifling. The metamorphosis of the theme is of interest:

Ex. 4





Later in the *presto* version the theme reverts to the form it has in (c) above. The resemblance of the two themes (b) and (c) to the main theme of the unfinished sonata in C major (1825) will be noticed. This is but one of the many places in these sketches where one is reminded of later work by the composer. The feeling is inescapable that these original crude ideas, since they were not fulfilled in the creation of a finished symphonic movement, remained in Schubert's mind until the time came for their full manifestation. The scherzo, for example, which comes after the abandoned *presto*, is strikingly like a blurred miniature of the scherzo in the great C major Symphony of ten years later. Its very opening bar is identical in shape with that of its great successor, although it does not produce a theme of comparable intensity. Above the pattering imitations that follow, the bass utters a theme that strides up and down the diatonic arpeggios exactly as does the theme in the later scherzo. The likeness is recalled again when the second subject appears, with its continuous rhythm of crotchet—4 quavers, and its melodic energy. The trio is typical of his early work in this form. Without the disarming sweetness of the similar section in his Symphony No. 5, in B $\flat$ , it has more harmonic variety and a less obvious *ländler* metre. As with the sketch of the slow movement in D major, there is a tender and intimate tone, entirely characteristic. Whatever the shortcomings of this symphonic scherzo it is, for all its elementary state, a movement superior to the one sketched in the "unfinished" Symphony of four and a half years later.

The scherzo is followed by the pages devoted to a second finale, in essentials completely sketched from beginning to end. It is an attempt by Schubert to fuse two strongly contrasted ideas: a forceful fugue subject built on the interval of a fourth (A-D-G) and a skimming D major tune very like those in his other symphonic finales. This dipping and dancing tune is a counterpoint to the fugue subject, although it is developed independently, and its triplet movement transforms the 2-4 of the time signature to 6-8. It is interesting, because so unusual, to see Schubert resorting to the devices of augmentation and double counterpoint, and successfully uniting these technicalities with the free and spontaneous expansion of the 6-8 theme.

One page in the midst of these long and rapidly written finale sketches is devoted to 69 bars of yet a third slow movement. A rather square tune and subsidiary figuration are treated at length

not uninterestingly—and the music breaks off at a promising point of departure into remoter keys.

I have left to the last the most interesting and important of all the seven movements, the Andante in B minor. Its very key—not too common in Schubert—suggests the “unfinished” Symphony, and the association of the two works is far from being unworthy. This Andante is without doubt Schubert’s first entry into that world of passionate and sustained lyricism that later produced the “Quartettsatz”, the first movement of the “unfinished” Symphony and the slow movement of the string Quintet. It is, even in its first crude draft, incomparably more mature than any previous slow movement of his and than anything in the following sketched Symphony in E; and it cuts deeper, too.

It starts with an unaccompanied unison phrase, obviously for cellos and double basses, derived from the main theme of the movement. To judge from Schubert’s manuscript it was an after-thought, and it is crowded into the space left by the previously mentioned pupil’s exercises. The main theme is played by the oboe and contains a device characteristic of Schubert’s melodies in the years 1818–22, that is, the repetition within the melody of a tiny group of notes. A familiar example occurs in the second subject of the first movement of the “unfinished” Symphony, and all four movements of the 1821 sketches show the mannerism markedly. The mood of the opening of the Andante is that of the “unfinished” Symphony, the manner is that of the Andante con Moto in the great C major Symphony. The impetuous flow of melody is interrupted by a majestic double-dotted phrase on the trombones, which is then taken up by the full orchestra, and the elevation of mood produced by these episodes is sustained in a magnificent stretch for the strings, chordal and modulatory. At this point Schubert’s second violin part is the guide to his intentions, since it is our only link with the succeeding passage, written three pages farther on and marked “zum Andante”. In this passage the strings close on a chord of F# major, and the lovely melodic quality of the interpolation can be seen from the quotation, which is a full transcription of what Schubert wrote:

Ex. 5





The rest of the movement is concerned with the development of the main oboe theme, followed by the reappearance of the trombone episode. The chordal passage for strings is embellished by cadential phrases on the clarinet. The recapitulation is not regular, and the coda, *un poco più lento*, is introduced by solo passages (? for the horn) punctuated by full orchestral chords.

Only inner parts are missing from this Andante; the instrumentation is more fully indicated than elsewhere in the sketches, and the movement is completely written through. It would be possible to bring it to the concert platform with only the barest of additions and by the taking of one liberty. This would be the inclusion of Schubert's coda as it stands. His obvious intention was to revise it, since it is crossed through. The reason for his dissatisfaction we cannot know without seeing what the coda might have become, for these thirty or so bars are of the same high quality as the rest and form an eminently fitting epilogue.

There is no doubt in my mind that, in spite of the small amount of routine work that remained to be done, the non-realization of this movement represents a frustration in Schubert's mind. Until the emotional and intellectual pressure of the music had found its outlet he never rested. That the intervening years of growth ensured the mature style of its eventual expression, when it came at length in the "unfinished" Symphony, is one of the happiest things in the history of music.

Two considerations remain. In the first place, we ask why the symphony was left in this sketchy state. It is to be remembered that the early months of 1818 were not happy ones for the composer. The year of freedom with his friend Schober had abruptly ended in



August 1817, and he was back at the loathed task of teaching in his father's school. The symphony we have considered, like the Sonata in C major of the previous April, may have been relinquished because of his discontent and frustration. But the reason may be a more everyday one. The date of the sketches shows that he was on the point of departing to Zseliz for his appointment as music master to Count Esterházy's children, and it may simply have been that preparations for this journey to Hungary cut short the projected symphony.

Then there is the question whether this sketch should be included in the list of Schubert's symphonies, and take its place as No. 7. Many of the fragments accorded a place in the roll of his pianoforte sonatas are far more fragile, and of infinitely less significance, than this work of 1818. If it be accepted as Schubert's seventh symphony, the full list runs as follows:

I. D major, 1813. II. B $\flat$  major, 1814-1815. III. D major, 1815. IV. C minor, 1816. V. B $\flat$  major, 1816. VI. C major, 1817-1818. VII. D major (sketch), 1818. VIII. E minor and major (sketch), 1821. IX. B minor (unfinished), 1822. X. C major, 1828.

The list emphasizes at once the diffidence and the uncertainty of those ten years between the two symphonies in C major. Three symphonies attempted, and not one brought to completion! It also establishes the last work as Schubert's No. 10, an enumeration always favoured by Grove because of his inclusion of the hypothetical symphony of Gmunden-Gastein. If that symphony ever existed it was probably in the same sketched state as this one of 1818. May we not accept the 1818 work as a small compensation for the lack of one belonging to 1825?

## JULIUS HARRISON'S MASS

BY EDMUND RUBBRA

THE power of the concepts embodied in the Latin words of the Mass to crystallize the deepest religious emotions of a composer is demonstrated by the succession of musical masterpieces, liturgical and non-liturgical, that began, at the latest, 500 years ago. That succession shows no signs of being ended by the materialist onslaughts of the present day: indeed, the only likely effect of these onslaughts is to strengthen what is already the strongest focus in Western culture. No other words have the same power to move and to sanctify, for no others are so saturated with man's highest aspirations and man's deepest guilt. To them man has, for 2,000 years, turned, canalizing and universalizing as they do all individual prayers, and making of them one tremendous and potent cry for unity with the source of all creation.

Music is the one art that can raise the words of the Mass to the highest power; release, as it were, all the religious overtones locked within them; and, having released them, give them form and emotional substance. But to do so the composer must be centred therein, so that when the sacred words live in terms of music they are the authentic expression of his whole personality. An approach that does not include the whole man is unthinkable. These demands, which admit of no compromise, render the non-liturgical settings of the Mass, from Bach onwards, the highest peaks not only of Western music but also of the music of the individual composer. This is certainly the case in Julius Harrison's Mass in C.<sup>1</sup> We have always known the composer as a fine craftsman and sensitive and evocative harmonist; but in his Mass he emerges in his full stature. All the qualities hitherto known are there, but all are raised incomparably by an interior vision and an unguessed strength of purpose, making the Mass not only outstanding in the corpus of the composer's work but also outstanding in twentieth-century English music.

Harrison does not, like Stravinsky in his recent Mass, stress the esoteric and subjective nature of the text. On the contrary, the work belongs to a definite and recognizable tradition in English music. This makes it, in a sense, doubly acceptable, for the listener

<sup>1</sup> First performed at Hanley, November 1948, by Stoke-on-Trent Choral Society and Hallé Orchestra, under Harold Gray. Published by Alfred Lengnick & Co.

has not to break down any initial difficulties with regard to style, but from the outset can pleasurably and movingly note the still vital possibilities of diatonic modes of thought. From start to finish this new Mass is rooted. A potent diatonic fragment, together with its simple octave-leaping accompaniment, informs the whole of the Kyrie:

**Ex. 1**

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son,

is put in a major framework in the Gloria:

**Ex. 2** Glo - ri - a

Glo - ri - a

and becomes more harmonic in the Laudamus Te:

**Ex. 3**

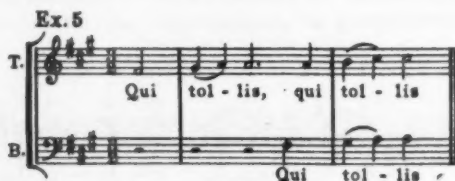
In Gratias Agimus Tibi the octave leap is turned to, remaining accompanimental in the Introduction and overflowing afterwards into the fugal vocal texture:

**Ex. 4**

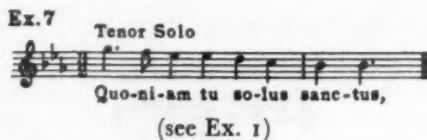
Gra - ti - as

(This tenor entry, by the way, prepared though it is, is the one perilous spot in the work from the choral point of view.)

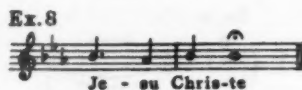
The opening phrase of Domine Deus is obviously allied to the tonal progression of the Kyrie, although in its context here it is less modal. The Qui Tollis and Qui Sedes are internally related,



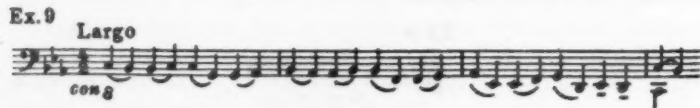
but with the exception of some vocal octave leaps in the former are not closely related to the other movements. Quoniam begins with what is virtually an inversion of the soprano part at the opening of the Kyrie,



and ends with a decided reference.

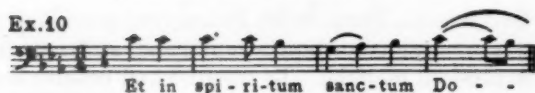


The Cum Sancto Spiritu is a finely vigorous mingling of the two basic motives. In the five sections of the Credo the initial double motive is most in evidence in the beautiful and moving Qui Propter, and in the orchestral part of the Crucifixus. In the latter it is developed into a passacaglia theme of noble proportions:



The bass solo at the beginning of Et in Spiritum Sanctum is also obviously moulded on the C-B $\flat$  progression:

Ex. 10



With the Sanctus we enter upon a remoter world, but even here are echoes:

Ex. 11



and in the climax, at Pleni sunt Coeli, the pounding octaves once more assert themselves. The leap of a fourth has been a subsidiary motive in the whole work, and in the Hosanna it is put to splendid use; but the modality of the prime motive is not forgotten and asserts itself in the final cadence. The Benedictus (tenor solo), one of the most moving sections in the whole work, has affinities with the Qui Tollis and the Qui Sedes, but in the bass line to the accompaniment shows the initial motive being put to sensitive harmonic use:

Ex. 12



A more specifically chromatic element is introduced in the Agnus Dei, but all is held together by the power of the leaping octave:

Ex. 13

**Lento**

S. Solo Ag-nus De-i qui tol-lis—

A. Solo



In the final section, *Dona Nobis Pacem*, the prevailing rhythm of which is 5-4, we are given a most beautiful and satisfying summing-up of all the previous material. Its tranquil and positive assurance brings together all the threads, and completes a work that will live as long as English music is known.

If I have dealt mainly with the formal architecture of the Mass, this is to stress its striking technical unity. But the diversity within the unity is just as striking, and lovely imaginative touches of harmony and melodic line so abound that illustrative extracts would become too numerous. The fundamental modality of the work, demonstrated at the very beginning by the flattened seventh (see Ex. 1 above) and by the transposed Aeolian mode used in the *Et in Spiritum Sanctum* and *Confiteor* sections of the *Credo*, never becomes a rigidly adhered-to system. In places of high emotional tension the composer employs a language made vivid by striking enharmonic changes and by the pull of notes outside the scale employed. A fine example of enharmony is found in the *Kyrie* (page 2 of the vocal score), where the discord of G-B $\flat$ -D-F $\sharp$  yields unexpectedly and with intense dramatic effect to G $\flat$ -B $\flat$ -E $\flat$ -G $\flat$ . At the end of the *Crucifixus* the anguished pull of F $\sharp$  in the prevailing modality of C—made more striking by the presence of B $\flat$ —has the same emotional impact as is experienced at the end of the *Crucifixus* in Bach's B minor Mass. The point is, however, that all these imaginative extensions of the prevailing diatonic system never destroy the consistency of the style, simply because every device is used by a craftsman steeped in the perennially satisfying language of European music, and is, consequently, a legitimate growth therefrom.

## FERRUCCIO BONAVIA: 1877-1950

IN half a century he, the Triestino, did not in his English speech altogether lose a certain soft Italian intonation. But how much he became one of us! His naturalization was no mere matter of convenience; he gave us his heart. At one time he had a retreat in unfrequented Essex. The pastoral scene was his delight as again, later on, was the rolling country between Winchester and Southampton with its wide prospects and aquarellist colouring. For Manchester, too, the Manchester of Richter's time and of the 'Guardian' of C. E. Montague, Sidebotham and Mair, Manchester unbeautiful, indeed, but in sanguine Edwardian days full of "characters", intellectual movements, humanitarianism, aspirations and illusions, he cherished a fondness to the end. Manchester had introduced him to the English poets; and 'Comus', for instance, became part of himself. Manchester encouraged him not only to write about music, which he did because others wished it of him, but also to write music, and this was the thing nearest his heart. The London hurly-burly was, later on, too much for this impulse, so fine and delicate. But this last winter he completed another string quartet.

He was not tough. It was not his choice, a career in the rough and tumble of musical journalism. Compared with fiddle and bow, words seemed to him poor tools for dealing with music and its secrets, and at times he perhaps felt that the conditions of London concert reporting made the whole thing a mistake. But the least tough, the most thin-skinned and fastidious of men, was all the same dogged; and he had his own way of making the most of a bad job, the way of integrity, reticence and courtesy. There were occasional compensations. He could speak up for Elgar, whom he loved, in the days of the disparagement which followed the early adulation. He could, amid the hard-boiled performances of the greatly famous which at one time it was his lot to hear in an unending succession, pick out the instances of imaginative feeling surviving professional petrification.

Enough of the Italian remained in him to attach him to the cause of opera, and he jibed gently but often at the part—wildly disproportionate, according to him—which the organ played in the English musical profession. It was his delight to observe promise and sometimes achievement at Sadler's Wells. Latter-day trends in

composition left him, for the most part, dissatisfied. Systems and experiment for experiment's sake he reckoned as little above charlatanry. He had a word of crushing disparagement: "Cold!" He could forgive much for the sake of a gleam of poetry. Boito's 'Mefistofele', revived at Covent Garden, was unsympathetically received, to Bonavia's indignation. "Where are their ears?" he said, "Did they hear nothing in 'Lontano, lontano'?"

Ferruccio Bonavia was a man dearly loved.

R. C.

### ALFRED LOEWENBERG: 1902-1949

BY A. HYATT KING

By the sudden death, from pneumonia, of Alfred Loewenberg on December 29th last, the world of musical learning has suffered a severe loss. Although best known through his 'Annals of Opera, 1597-1940', his interests and activities covered a larger field; but by his forty-seventh year only a fraction of his work and plans had come to fruition. It is tragic that his life should thus have been cut short after he had escaped from the dangers of the Nazi régime and had come safely through the hazards of existence in London during the war.

Loewenberg was born in Berlin on May 14th 1902, and received his education at the universities of Berlin and Jena. Having graduated at the latter in 1925, as doctor of philosophy and psychology, he took a post as a co-editor of the 'Propyläen Kunstgeschichte', published by the firm of Ullstein, and in 1934 he held a similar position on the encyclopedia 'Philolexikon' for arts, drama and music. Already he had begun to amass a collection of first editions of German plays, which was later sold to Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A. His wide interest in the field of operatic and theatrical history became intensified at this time; he began to accumulate material for his life's vocation.

Forced to leave Germany in 1935, he came to London, and by 1940 had completed most of his work on the 'Annals'. When published in 1943, this book was highly praised as the achievement of a man endowed with exceptional gifts for patient and accurate research, with wide historical and bibliographical knowledge and much skill as a lexicographer. He left a second edition of the work, with many corrections and additions, almost ready for publication.

On May 1st 1936 Loewenberg was first granted admission to the Reading Room of the British Museum, and here for thirteen and a half years—broken only by a period of service in the Pioneer Corps—

he pursued his researches with indefatigable energy. As well as writing reviews and articles in musical journals, he compiled the comprehensive classified 'Bibliography of Books and Articles on Music' that appeared in Hinrichsen's Year Book for 1944, 1945-46, 1947-48. His bibliography of 'Early Dutch Librettos and Music in the British Museum' (Aslib, 1947) is a model of its kind, and revealed some unknown compositions. In 1948 he shared with Rupert Erlebach the publication of an index to the first seventy years of the Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association.

In January 1946, Eric Blom paid Loewenberg a notable tribute, in the preface to 'Everyman's Dictionary of Music', for exceptionally valuable help in its compilation. He made useful contributions to the supplementary volume of the fourth edition of 'Grove' (1940), and when the fifth edition is published several hundred articles signed "A. L." will constitute another permanent record of work on operas, singers and minor composers, though in the later part of the alphabet these contributions will be fewer than in the earlier. Loewenberg's personal plans were drawn on a truly monumental scale. The 'Annals' contained only a selection from a mass of material which he was collecting for a bibliography of every opera and ballet ever produced in Europe up to the year 1800. How much of this material can be moulded into publishable form by other hands is uncertain. But he left a wealth of material for a catalogue of opera librettos in the British Museum up to about 1800, excluding Italian librettos published in London, and French and English librettos which have been adequately dealt with elsewhere; and he had practically completed a work entitled, 'Italian Opera in London', a complete chronological account of all Italian operas performed here in the 18th century, compiled from the librettos, newspapers and other sources.

From June 1944 onwards Loewenberg was happily employed in work on the British Union Catalogue of Periodicals, an enterprise sponsored by 'Aslib', with an office in the British Museum. In January 1947 he was appointed editor of this catalogue, in succession to Theodore Besterman. During these years the circle of his friends and acquaintances widened through his membership of the Bibliographical Society, the Royal Musical Association and the Society for Theatre Research, on whose council he had been a valued figure since October 1948. For the first publication of the last-named society he had prepared, ready for printing save for the preface, a Bibliography of British Provincial Theatres. This will now take the form of a memorial volume.

Loewenberg was a man of singular integrity, confident yet

modest and unobtrusive in bearing, cheerful in adversity. In the Reading Room of the British Museum, where was the true centre of his life, his qualities won him numerous friends, and when in September 1947 he became a British subject it was a matter of general satisfaction. The nature of his work gave him an exceptional knowledge of the principles and contents of the 2,000 volumes of the general catalogue, and of the 430 volumes of the catalogues of music. By using this knowledge to assist foreign and English scholars in finding their needs throughout this rather formidable array he was often able to ease the burden of the Reading Room staff.

Above all, Loewenberg will be remembered for his liberality in helping others from his personal, ever-growing store of operatic learning. His advice was especially valued by my predecessor in the Music Room, William C. Smith, by myself, and indeed by any member of the Museum staff with an operatic problem. Many dates in the catalogues owe their correctness, and many imprints their completeness, to Loewenberg. All the title-slips from which these amended entries are printed bear a note—not seen by the public eye—with some such words as “Loewenberg—personal information”. Such was the character of his generous giving, and here, not least, lies his memorial.

### MUSIC BY THE STREAM

You live by a river, you sleep under the mountain,  
And the valley folds you and upholds you, my sweet maker  
Of music, my redemption, my fountain.

They say that the music has gone from our meadows  
Where the blight gathers and war fathers our ruin,  
But your music is light to our shadows.

In mists that surround him, unknown the hearer  
Takes thus from your fingers where lingers the music  
The gem to become its new wearer.

T. ST. QUINTIN HILL.



## HAYDN AND FOLK-SONG

BY MARION M. SCOTT

WHEN, on the strength of Haydn's use of Croatian folk-tunes and the affinities with them in his style, Dr. Kuhač published a pamphlet in 1880 claiming Haydn as a Croat instead of the good German composer nearly everyone had supposed him to be, a dispute started which has pursued a course apparently as uncheckable as the spell let loose by Goethe's *Zauberlehrling*. Sets of data were laboriously collected and arrayed as evidence on both sides. From time to time other voices were heard hopefully suggesting that Haydn was an Hungarian, or possibly a gypsy. (Happy thought! He did write several movements "in the gypsies stile", as the famous Rondo of his G major Trio is quaintly headed in Artaria's 1796 edition.)

Some finely critical writers of the twentieth century even questioned the authenticity of the Croatian tunes. Michel Brenet, discussing Kuhač's theory in her concise book on Haydn, asked: "Why should not the terms of the proposition be reversed? During the time Haydn lived at Eisenstadt or Esterház, when his music resounded day and night in the castle and gardens of his Prince, why should not his own airs, or scraps at least of his own melodies, have stolen through the open windows and remained in the memories, first of the people whose duty it was to interpret them, and then of the scattered population of the surrounding country?"

Professor E. J. Dent took a rather different view. At a Royal Musical Association discussion he said that a so-called Croatian drinking-song sounded to him much more like an opera tune by Galuppi, and added: "One can very well believe that the musical-comedy tunes of Italy at that period travelled across the Adriatic and became adopted by peasants in Croatia as folk-tunes. This is quite likely, because one has only to look at any collection of Croatian or Dalmatian folk-tunes to recognize at once tunes which have come out of popular comic operas". Still, none of these theories really accounts for Haydn's procedure as a composer and his use of folk-tunes and popular songs, while the strangest aspect of the whole affair is that Haydn as a free agent has been largely overlooked. Why did Haydn use these folk-songs? To me that seems the crucial question.

Now it is an accepted legal maxim that in any case: "The first

thing to do is to get down to the actual facts; when you have those, a case often settles itself." That being so, the first facts to realize are that Haydn's racial origins and his use of folk-songs are two separate things—the one cannot really prove the other. Kuhač arrived at this theory of a Croatian origin by observing the likenesses between some of Haydn's themes and certain tunes in the great collection of South Slavonic Melodies which he had published in 1878. He enriched it by numerous items of information about the peoples, history, place-names and patronymics of the district of Lower Austria in which Haydn was born—a district the *Encyclopædia Britannica* calls the melting-pot of Europe, though I do not think Kuhač says that. He described it as strongly colonized by Southern Slavs, as a focus of Croatian life, and he considered that in the eighteenth century the Croats unquestionably formed the larger part of the population. So, at least, I gather from the writings of his distinguished convert Sir Henry Hadow, since I am unable to read 'Josip Haydn i Hrvatske Narodne Popievke' in the original. It cannot, in any case, be as delightful as Hadow's own essay entitled 'A Croatian Composer', wherein is set forth Kuhač's theory and its aura of relevant historical and geographical facts, with an enthusiasm and culture that would charm a bird off a tree. Even if the data are now known to be partly untenable the spirit of the essay brings us very near to Haydn.

The most distinguished champion of the German cause came later upon the scene. Ernst Fritz Schmid was not much concerned with Haydn's use of Croatian tunes, and very properly pointed out in the final chapter of his exhaustively detailed book, 'Joseph Haydn: Ein Buch von Vorfahren und Heimat des Meisters', that Haydn used tunes and airs from several different countries. What concerned Dr. Schmid was the comings and goings of the settlers and invaders who streamed back and forth across that unfortunate tract of country, the Heideboden, in Lower Austria, where the Haydns lived, and the ramifications of the Haydn family tree. On Dr. Schmid's findings the dwellers in the Heideboden were predominantly German, and Haydn's ancestors exclusively so. Thus Haydn was a German and, better still in Dr. Schmid's eyes, a Swabian German. Where Kuhač could show Hadow as a disciple, Schmid can fairly claim Dr. Geiringer, for the latter in his 'Haydn: a Creative Life in Music' briefly but wholly accepts Schmid's verdict on Haydn's nationality. Schmid's monumental book probably settles Haydn's racial origins for good. But this is observable, that where the Croatian champions do not hesitate to cite Haydn—or rather, his personal appearance—as a witness for his

Slavonic origin, the Germanic advocates are in a difficult position. To be candid, it must be trying to have your hero, when he should look a thorough Teuton, to be so stubbornly dark-complexioned that his employer Prince Esterházy and his fellow-musicians nicknamed him "The Moor" in his young days.

It is a relief to turn from these doubtful racial theories to Haydn's undoubted use of folk-tunes. Here it is essential to remember that he was one of the most clear-minded of composers, largely self-taught, greatly self-reliant, original and sagaciously aware of all he did; aware, too, of the need for constantly pleasing and interesting his employer Prince Esterházy and, in later life, his London audiences. To follow Haydn's work closely through the years is to gain an extraordinary impression of his unceasing search for means by which to expand and enrich his art. Here, I believe, is where the folk-songs become important.

A passage in the book of reminiscences published by his friend Carpani only three years after Haydn's death has the following explicit statement. Says Carpani: "Stabilito il suo stile pensò Haydn ad arricchire ognor più la sua fantasia, e non contento delle osservazioni sulle opere de' contemporanei, fece di buon' ora raccolta e tesoro delle migliori, ed insieme più originali cantilene d'ogni nazione, notava gli accenti caratteristici, il ritmo, non che i modi singolari d'ogn'una, l'Ukrania, L'Ungheria, la Scozia, l'Alemagna, la Sicilia, la Spagna, la Russia contribuirono tutte al magazzino dell' Haydn." Surely that settles the folk-song question in one paragraph, and as soon as its significance is grasped everything else falls into place. There is no reason to doubt Carpani's first-hand knowledge of the facts, nor his veracity. Haydn as composer was the conscious agent and creator, not an unconscious channel for racial proclivities.

How did the idea of using folk-songs come to Haydn? To me it has long seemed that the answer is to be found in a passage in Burney's 'Present State of Music in Germany'. Burney had arrived in Vienna towards the end of the summer of 1772 and had, among other letters of introduction, one to M. L'Augier who, said Burney, "despight of uncommon corpulency, possesses a most active and cultivated mind. His house is the rendezvous of the first people of Vienna, both for rank and genius; and his conversation is as entertaining, as his knowledge is extensive and profound. Among his other acquirements he has arrived at great skill in music, has a most refined and distinguished taste, and has heard *national melody* in all parts of the world with philosophical ears." (The italics are Burney's.) "He has been in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and

Constantinople, and is, in short, a living history of modern music. In Spain he was intimately acquainted with Domenico Scarlatti, who at seventy-three, composed for him a great number of harpsichord lessons which he now possesses".

Reading this one feels, as in the old game of hunt-the-thimble, that one is beginning to get warm. And then suddenly—at the next page one cries "Found!" For here M. L'Augier tells Burney: "There are many passages in Scarlatti's pieces, in which he imitated the melody of tunes sung by carriers, muleteers, and common people". And then Burney adds: "M. L'Augier sung to me several fragments of Bohemian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Turkish music, in which the peculiar expression depended on the *contre tems*, or breach of strict time; beat the measure, and keep it as exactly as is necessary, in more refined and modern music, and it wholly loses its effect." There, I think, is the practically certain source from which Haydn got his idea of using folk-tunes—Scarlatti *via* L'Augier. What now remains is to be sure whether Haydn formed one of L'Augier's brilliant circle. Burney unfortunately does not say so explicitly but by implication he does when he writes: "M. L'Augier was so obliging as to promise to make me acquainted with Hasse, Wagenseil, Haydn, and all the musicians that were worth my attention in Vienna."

Haydn proved, unfortunately, to be out of town, but Burney duly became acquainted with Hasse. Now Hasse, too, had known Scarlatti when he was in Spain, and he certainly knew Haydn, for Haydn regarded him as his spiritual father. Burney also mentions Weigl, "an excellent performer on the violoncello", as the bass in the string quartet at the concert given by M. L'Augier, when "we had some exquisite quartetts, by Haydn, executed in the utmost perfection". Weigl was a close friend of Haydn's, had become a member of the Esterházy orchestra in 1761—the year of Haydn's appointment as the Prince's Vice-Kapellmeister—and had only left it in 1769 to enter the Hoftheater and Hofkapelle at Vienna. Prince Esterházy himself disliked Vienna and spent as much time as possible at his new palace of Esterház. This accounts for Haydn's absence in the country. Yet the Prince, too, may be a factor in the case. It seems to me most likely that Haydn, in his efforts to keep the interest of his music ever fresh, may have regarded the use of folk-songs as a happy expedient, especially as the Prince was known to be fond of popular tunes.

There is a delicious story of the Prince's returning home from some journey and telling Haydn he had heard a Mass with any number of engaging tunes in it, something much better than

anything Haydn could do. On which Haydn secretly wrote a Mass introducing many popular melodies. When the Prince next took a journey Haydn begged for a holiday, hurried off to the Prince's destination, had the work performed when the Prince attended Mass, and on the Prince's again telling him, after his return, how superior the music was elsewhere, Haydn had the pleasure of replying: "The music was mine, your Serene Highness, and I was the organist."

Apart from Haydn's collection of foreign airs, much folk-music must have lain around him. It had been so in his infancy when his mother and father, the day's work done, sang and played airs that still sang themselves in his memory in the evening of his life. I know of few more touching episodes than that in which Haydn as an old, ill man said to the artist Dies: "I am really a living clavier. For many days an old song, in E minor, that I often played in my youth, has played itself in me—'O Herr! wie lieb' ich dich von Herzen'." According to Kuhač, Haydn made no use of folk-songs or national airs in his early works. Though I am not prepared to agree unreservedly, I do admit that Haydn's first attempts at composition were mostly governed by what Burney called the "more refined and modern music". When folk-song-like subjects appeared in Haydn's earliest compositions they were in smooth, even rhythms, with regular bar-groupings and lengths. They were so in the earliest version of the Opus 1 quartets if—as I think I have made clear elsewhere—the edition by Hummel of Amsterdam must have been pirated from one of the manuscript copies in circulation between 1755 (the approximate date of composition) and the beautiful edition by La Chevardière of Paris in 1764. No music-publishers existed in Vienna, it must be remembered, until the 1770s. When La Chevardière did publish Opus 1 he obviously worked from a revised copy, the revisions being such as only Haydn himself would have thought of. This is not the place in which to describe the differences I have discovered on comparing the editions; but two must be mentioned because they are strongly significant of the impact of irregularities of folk-song upon Haydn's style. In the earliest version of the C major quartet the first strain of the second minuet was eight bars long: in La Chevardière's it has been extended to nine. In the E $\flat$  quartet the opening subject of the first movement has been reduced by a dexterous process of omission and dovetailing from ten bars to nine. There, I think, we see the beginning of Haydn's famous uneven bar-groupings. In point of time it would seem to coincide with Haydn's first years with Prince Esterházy,

and, most probably, with the start of his folk-song collection. Folk-songs too lay around him at Eisenstadt and Esterház. The Gasthaus which was such a gathering-place for the musicians at Eisenstadt was, no doubt, a congenial haunt for the town and country people as well. Even in England the village inns were good hunting-grounds for folk-songs fifty years ago. How much more must that have been true nearly two hundred years ago in Austro-Hungary!

After following thus far Haydn's folk-song Odyssey, the racial question seems rather remote, not to say irrelevant. His use of national airs neither proves nor disproves him to have been a Croat or German. What does emerge is that Haydn was a great thinker in music, as well as a man whose mind and heart lay open to pure inspiration, and that in drawing material for his music from many countries he transmuted it into a larger beauty to be given back to the whole world.



## HANDELIANA

BY WILLIAM C. SMITH

VICTOR SCHÆLCHER long ago established the fact that Handel was living in Brook Street—25 Lower Brook Street, Hanover Square, his home until he died—at least as early as 1725; and he shrewdly suspected, though he could not prove, that the composer might have settled there before that year. Biographers have been content to date Handel's residence in Brook Street as 1725–59. Evidence exists, however, to show that he took possession of the house in the latter part of 1723. Before 1725 Brook Street was in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, but when the church of St. George, Hanover Square, was completed in 1724, Brook Street became part of the parish of St. George's. The house was not numbered in Handel's time, but from c. 1766 it was No. 57, and after 1868 No. 25.

The rate-books of St. Martin in the Fields, which Schoelcher did not know, do not give Handel as occupant or ratepayer up to July 3rd 1723. The rate-book from July to December 1723 is missing, but the records exist of the highways ratings for December 20th 1723, to June 11th 1724 and in these, between the names of Catharine Johnstone and (John) Mountain appears: "George Frederick Hendell, Rent £20. Rate 3s. 4d." The first of the St. George's rate-books (assessment April 1725) gives "George Frederick Handell, Rent £35. First Rate 17s. 6d." Thence onwards he appears as ratepayer, and the assessment of May 1st 1759 is "Geo. Frederick Handall, Rent £40," with a total of £2 10s. od. for three ratings, his name occurring between those of Sarah Hunt and Lord Ducie Morton in place of Catharine Johnston (or Johnstone) and John Mountain. In April 1760 John Duburk, Handel's servant, is given as the ratepayer, with the same rent and rates as Handel's in 1759.

The probability is that Handel's occupation began when the house was first built, but there is no evidence of the terms under which he entered it. As I have elsewhere pointed out, the composer's establishment in this comfortable house in a fashionable quarter, which was then developing in the direction of Hyde Park, is testimony to the financial and social security in which he lived until his death some thirty-six years later.

The oratorio 'Esther' is said to have been first sung at Cannons under the title 'Haman and Mordecai', c. 1720; but no record exists of the performance, although August 29th is frequently given as the date on the strength of a reference to the performance of an anthem then at the opening of the Duke of Chandos's chapel.

As 'Esther' the work was first given on February 23rd 1732 (not 1731), and Burney (Commemoration, p. 100, and elsewhere) states, on the authority of Dr. Randall and Thomas Barrow who had sung in the performance, that it took place at the house of Bernard Gates, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, in James Street, Westminster. Mainwaring says nothing about this performance. There is in existence, however, an eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the work (said to be contemporary) which suggests that Burney's statements may be open to question. This manuscript was sold by Ellis of 29, New Bond Street some years ago, and the following details are taken from the catalogue of the sale:

Esther an Oratorio or Sacred Drama. The Musick as it was composed for the most Noble James Duke of Chandos by George Frederic Handel in the Year 1720. And perform'd by the Children of His Majesty's Chapel on Wednesday the 23d of February 1731.

Following the title is a list of the *dramatis personæ*, which agrees with that given by Rockstro in his Life of Handel, except that this manuscript provides the further information that the part of Haman was taken by John Moore, and the name of Thomas Denham appears instead of Thomas Barrow. Following the *dramatis personæ*, on a separate leaf, a beautifully written inscription informs us: "Mr. Bernard Yates (Gates), Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, together with a Number of voices from the Choirs of the Chapel Royal and Westminster, join'd in Chorus's after the manner of the Ancients, being placed between the stage and the Orchestra; and the Instrumental parts (two or three particular instruments, necessary on this Occasion Excepted) were perform'd by the members of the Philharmonic Society consisting only of Gentlemen; at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand

on Wednesday 23d of February 1731 } for the Philharmonic  
and Wednesday 1 of March 1731 } Society  
and on Friday 3d of March 1731 for the Academy".

Burney mentions John Moore (Haman) and Thomas Barrow and Robert Denham (Israelites and Officers). Rockstro omits Moore, but gives Thomas Barrow and Robert Denham. 1731 in the manuscript is Old Style for 1732, and Yates is a mistranscription of Gates. Burney and other writers mention two performances at the Crown and Anchor, following the first at Gates's house. It

may be rash to reject Burney's assertions about the first performance but, after all, his authorities were only lads at the time, and it is quite conceivable that they rehearsed their part of the work at Gates's house and that, in recalling the event many years later, they confused rehearsal with performance at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. While the Ellis manuscript may not be absolutely authoritative, the statements it makes are so definite that Burney must be accepted with reservations. He also tells us (*Commemoration*, p. 100) that Handel himself was present at one of the performances and, "having mentioned it to the Princess Royal, his illustrious scholar, her Royal Highness was pleased to express a desire to see it exhibited in action at the Opera-house in the Haymarket, by the same young performers; but Dr. Gibson, then bishop of London, would not grant permission for its being represented on that stage, even with books in the children's hands". I have not been able to corroborate this statement of Burney's from contemporary sources.

\* \* \*

Handel's trouble with his sight must have been coming on for some time before he made reference to it in the score of 'Jephtha', February 13th 1751. Indeed, the Chevalier John Taylor, who claimed to be an oculist but was considered a charlatan by some of his contemporaries, is said to have operated on Handel before 1749. Schœlcher, followed by others, perpetrated the mistake that Handel was operated upon by William Bramfield (or Bromfeild) in May 1752, when as a matter of fact the surgeon's name was Bromfield and the operation took place on November 3rd 1752 ('General Advertiser', November 4th). Mrs. Delany, November 16th 1751, refers to Handel's having lost the sight of one eye; and on November 25th 1752 she speaks of him as having "been couched, and found some benefit from it". It was stated in the 'London Evening Post' of January 27th 1753 that although he was able to see for some little time after the operation he had quite lost his sight; but, according to Professor Deutsch, a note in Dr. Mann's copy of Schœlcher at Cambridge quotes 'The Cambridge Chronicle', January 13th 1753, as saying, "Mr. Handel has so much recovered his sight that he is able to go abroad". There is no corroboration of Handel's going abroad at this time. If Handel himself wrote the long letter in French to Telemann of September 20th 1754, as has been suggested (*Händel-Jahrbuch* 1930, p. 162; Müller, *The Letters of Handel*), he could not have been totally blind at the time.

Some evidence of failing sight is to be gathered from the signatures on the four codicils to his will (August 6th 1756, March 22nd

1757, August 4th 1757, and April 11th 1759). The first three, in a shaky hand, with the composer's name in full, have the i's carefully dotted, but the last ("G. F. Handel") was obviously written in extreme weakness (perhaps paralysis), and with badly impaired sight.

James Smyth, a close friend of Handel's, wrote a letter to Bernard Granville, following the composer's death. In this he records: "I had the pleasure to reconcile him to his old friends: he saw them, and forgave them . . . He took leave of all his friends on Friday morning, and desired to see nobody but the doctor, and apothecary and myself. At seven o'clock in the evening, he took leave of me". This letter makes no mention of Handel's blindness, but, on the contrary, suggests that he could see even to a few hours before his death.

A poem referring to the composer's loss of sight appeared in 'Benjamin Martin's Miscellaneous Correspondence', January 1755, and was reproduced in full in John Bishop's 'Brief Memoir of Handel'. It begins:

Homer and Milton might complain  
They roll'd their sightless orbs in vain;  
Yet both have wing'd a daring flight,  
Illumin'd by celestial light.  
Then let not old Timotheus yield,  
Or, drooping, quit the advent'rous field.

Another poem, not generally known, I transcribe from 'The London Chronicle' August 22nd-24th 1758:

On the Recovery of the Sight of the Celebrated Mr. Handel, by the Chevalier Taylor.

From the hill of Parnassus adjourning in state,  
On its rival, Mount Pleasant, the Muses were sate;  
When Euterpe, soft pity inciting her breast,  
Ere the Concert begun, thus Apollo address'd:

"Great Father of Music and every Science,  
In all our distresses, on thee our reliance;  
Know then in yon villa, from pleasures confin'd  
Lies our favourite, Handel, afflicted and blind.

"For him who hath travers'd the cycle of sound,  
And spread thy harmonious strains the world round,  
Thy son Æsculapius' art we implore,  
The blessing of sight with a touch to restore."

Strait Apollo replied: "He already is there;  
By mortals call'd, Taylor, and dubb'd Chevalier:  
Who to Handel (and thousands besides him) shall give  
All the blessings that sight in old age can receive.

" By day the sweet landscape shall play in the eye,  
And night her gay splendors reflect from the sky ;  
Or behold a more brilliant Galaxy near,  
Where H——n, B——y, and P——t appear.

" But far greater transports their moments beguile,  
Who now catch their infants reciprocal smile :  
While S——pe, for sweetness of temper ador'd,  
Partakes in the joy of each patient restor'd.

" Hence the barking of Envy shall now be soon o'er,  
And Jealousy raise her false cavils no more ;  
For the Wise will think facts, the most stubborn of things,  
When testify'd too, by dukes, princes, and kings.

" And could he from one (far the best) meet regard,  
To experience his art and his merit reward ;  
He again my sons altars with incense would crown,  
And to his own realms fix immortal renown."

This said : They their instruments tun'd ; and begun  
A Cantata in praise of their president's son :  
Then with Handel's Concerto concluding the day,  
To Parnassus they took their aerial way.

Tunbridge Wells, Aug. 15.

From the references in this poem we gather that Handel was then probably at Tunbridge Wells, unless the poem must be considered to have no foundation in fact.

\* \* \*

The assertion has frequently been made that the opera 'Jupiter in Argos' was never performed in Handel's time; but contemporary records inform us that it was given at the King's Theatre, Haymarket on May 1st and 5th 1739. The first performance was advertised in 'The London Daily Post', April 26th, 27th, 28th and 30th, but through the absence of the issues of the paper for May 1st to 7th from the Burney collection at the British Museum doubt or uncertainty about the production has been expressed by some writers, and this has in time been turned into positive statements that the work was never staged. It is strange that such a mistake should have been made since Burney (*History*, IV, p. 430) says with regard to the performance of May 1st: "This production, whatever it was, seems to have died in its birth, for I can find no other memorial of it". The Augustus Harris collection of newspaper cuttings about the London theatres, in the British Museum, includes two of the references missing from the Burney collection, and these supply the necessary evidence. The announcement for

May 1st reads: "At the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket, this day, May the 1st, will be acted a Dramatical Composition call'd Jupiter in Argos, Intermix'd with Chorus's and two Concerto's on the Organ", &c. A similar notice appeared on May 5th.

A copy of the libretto is in the Balfour collection in the National Library of Scotland, and the music can be largely reconstructed from manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the King's Music Library and from the Aylesford manuscript in Sir Newman Flower's possession. A broadcast of the music of the Flower manuscript, to an entirely new libretto as 'Perseus and Andromeda', was given on October 8th 1935. Coopersmith had an informative article on the work in 'Music & Letters', October 1936.

\* \* \*

The famous singer, Francesca Cuzzoni, made her first appearance in London in Handel's 'Ottone' on January 12th 1723, having arrived here only a few days earlier. Chrysander makes reference to a newspaper notice ('The London Journal', December 22nd 1722) which is worth quoting more fully than he does:

Mrs. Cotsona, the Italian Lady, whom we mentioned some time since to be coming over to England, to sing at the Opera, is married on her journey: She had Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds advanced by Heidecker, Master of the Opera House, before she set out, which if she should refund, and not come at all, would prove a double Disappointment to that Gentleman, not only in losing a Person so well qualified; but he has taken a Sum of Money some Days since of a Person of Quality, to pay Half a Guinea per Diem till she comes.

Her coming caused more than ordinary interest in the press. 'The British Journal' of December 29th 1722, said:

Seigniora *Cutsoni* is expected here with much Impatience for the Improvement of our Opera Performances; and as 'tis said, she far excells Seigniora *Duristante*, already with us, and all those she leaves in Italy behind her, much Satisfaction may be expected by those who of later Years have contributed largely to Performances in this Kind, for the great Advantage of the Publick, and softening the Manners of a rude *British* People. The terms (this Lady does us this extraordinary Favour upon) are reported with such Uncertainty, and it is so difficult to get at the Truth, that we shall only say what is controverted by no one, That she is to receive more Advantage than any one yet has on the like occasion; tho' 1,500*l* a Season in such cases is frequent.

On January 5th 1723 'The London Journal' reported



Cuzzoni's arrival the week before, and on January 19th stated:

His Majesty was at the Theatre in the Hay-Market when Signiora Cotzani performed, for the first time, to the Surprise and Admiration of a numerous Audience who are ever too fond of Foreign Performers. She is already jump'd into a handsome Chariot, and an Equipage accordingly. The Gentry seem to have so high a Taste of her fine Parts, that she is likely to be a great Gainer by them.

A benefit performance of 'Ottone' for Cuzzoni, March 26th 1723, prompted the following remarks in 'The London Journal', March 30th:

On Tuesday last was perform'd the Opera of Otho, King of Germany, for the Benefit of Mrs. Cuzzoni; and a considerable Benefit it was to her indeed, for we hear that some of the Nobility gave her 50 Guineas a Ticket. Notwithstanding the Town so much admires this Lady's Performance, yet there are several who believe that Mrs. Tofts was equal to her in every Respect; but she was born in Italy. Why Musick should be confined only to that Country is what we cannot perceive; since no person that ever came out of it equal'd the Harmony of our famous Purcell. As we delight so much in Italian Songs, we are likely to have enough of them, for as soon as Cuzzoni's Time is out, we are to have another over; for we are well assured *Faustina*, the fine Songstress at Venice, is invited, whose Voice, they say, exceeds that we have already here; and as the Encouragement is so great, no doubt, but she will visit us, and, like others, when she makes her Exit, may carry off Money enough to build some stately Edifice in her own Country, and there perpetuate our Folly.

This early reference to Faustina's reputation in England and her probable engagement preceded her appearance here by three years.

Burney tells us that, on her arrival, Cuzzoni married Sandoni, a harpsichord master; but Chrysander and others say that she married Sandoni on the journey, he having been sent by Heidegger and Handel to arrange for her visit. She is supposed to have poisoned her husband and been sentenced to death ('Daily Post', September 7th 1741). But this husband cannot have been Sandoni, for he published 'Six Sets of Lessons for the Harpsichord' in December 1748. The Sandoni marriage has always been a little suspect, and it becomes more so in the light of the following extract not generally known:

Tomorrow, Signiora Cuzzoni, the famous Chauntress, is to be married to San Antonio Ferre, a very rich Italian, at the Chapel of Count Staremberg, the Imperial Ambassador. ('Daily Journal', January 11, 1725.)

The probability of this marriage is strengthened by the fact that

when Cuzzoni was travelling to England in December 1722, Count Staremborg was also arriving about the same time, and 'The London Journal' of November 10th 1722 announced the fitting up of a house in Hanover Square for his reception. There is a well-known reference in the 'Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville' (Mrs. Delany) under the date August 22nd 1725, where Mrs. Pendarves writing to Anne Granville says: "Mrs. Sandoni (who was Cuzzoni) is brought to bed of a daughter: it is a mighty mortification it was not a son. Sons and heirs ought to be out of fashion when such scrubs shall pretend to be dissatisfied at having a daughter: 'tis pity indeed, that the noble name and family of the Sandoni's should be extinct." This cynical remark conflicts with the report of the marriage to Ferre. Sandoni was evidently regarded as Cuzzoni's husband and the father of her child.

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It has generally been accepted that the only London performances of 'Messiah' before 1749 were three at Covent Garden in March 1743 and two at the King's Theatre in April 1745. But from a manuscript list, in my possession, of Schœlcher's libretti it appears that the whole work was given by the Academy of Ancient Music on February 16th 1744, and extracts by the same society on April 30th 1747. Here are details from the list:

Messiah. A Sacred Oratorio set to Musick by Mr. Handel and performed by the Academy of Ancient Musick on Thursday, February 16th 1743 [O.S., i.e., 1744], etc.

Messiah (Extrait du). Dans le livret d'un concert de l'Académie d'ancienne musique, donné le 30 Avril, 1747. Il est à noter qu'entre 1745 et 1749 Handel ne donna pas lui-même le Messiah une seule fois. Les extraits exécutés par l'Académie en 1747 ne sont pas indiqués comme étant tirés du Messiah, ils ne portent pas même le nom de Handel.

The Academy of Ancient Music was established in 1710 and continued till 1792. It met for a long time at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand, where performances were given on Thursday evenings.

## WASHINGTON IRVING, BARHAM LIVIUS AND WEBER

BY PERCIVAL R. KIRBY

IN his interesting and provocative article on 'Washington Irving's Librettos'<sup>1</sup>, George R. Price outlines the work done by Irving in translating certain operas by Carl Maria von Weber. He even goes so far as to suggest that the American writer played "a major part in translation of the librettos" for the English stage, and in making this suggestion he has naturally found it necessary to discount the part played by others, and in particular by Barham Livius, to some extent. At first I was inclined to agree with him; now I am not so sure.

When I wrote my article 'Weber's Operas in London, 1824-1826'<sup>2</sup> (to which Mr. Price refers throughout his paper), I was, naturally enough, unaware that Washington Irving had had anything to do with Weber's works, and I only discovered the facts of the case long after my article had been accepted for publication.

I actually sent my paper to New York in 1940, and it was accepted almost immediately. But, owing to the editor's untimely death and the interminable delays and difficulties caused by the war, it did not appear in print until 1946. In the meantime, in 1943, Alfred Loewenberg's 'Annals of Opera' appeared, and at the end of the long entry devoted to Weber's 'Der Freischütz' I came across the footnote which states that Washington Irving had translated the opera while in Germany in 1823.

I immediately obtained a copy of the standard biography of Irving<sup>3</sup> and found that not only had this translation of 'Der Freischütz' been published but also one of 'Abu Hassan'.<sup>4</sup>

Since these translations had been privately printed in a limited edition, it was impossible for me to purchase actual copies of them, so, with the help of our University Librarian, I eventually succeeded in obtaining photostats of both works. As soon as I examined them I realized their importance and determined to sift the matter to the bottom.

<sup>1</sup> 'Music & Letters', London, October 1948, pp. 348-55.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Musical Quarterly', New York, July 1946, pp. 333-53.

<sup>3</sup> S. T. Williams, 'The Life of Washington Irving', 2 Vols. (New York, 1935).

<sup>4</sup> W. Irving, 'The Wild Huntsman' and 'Abu Hassan', both works printed for the Bibliophile Society only (Boston, 1924).

But to do this it was obviously necessary for me to examine Irving's Continental 'Journals',<sup>2</sup> which were freely referred to in Williams's biography. No South African library, however, possessed copies of these, nor could they be obtained. I had therefore to wait until I was next in London before I could consult the volumes and make notes upon them. This visit took place in March-April 1948, when I carefully extracted from Irving's 'Journals' all the relevant facts concerning his experiments in operatic translation, with a view to following up my original article with one in which the American author's connection with Weber's works should be put in true perspective.

Before I left London at the end of April of that year, the editor of 'Music & Letters' told me that he had accepted an article on 'Washington Irving's Librettos', and, from his description of it, the author, Mr. G. R. Price, had appeared to have been working on the same or similar lines as myself. But not until my return to South Africa did I receive the proof sheets of Mr. Price's paper, which I read at once with the deepest interest.

After careful study and considerable thought I have come to the conclusion that, in many respects, Washington Irving scarcely played "a major part" in the translation of Weber's operas, especially with regard to the actual production of the works, but that, on the contrary, his version of 'Der Freischütz' not only required rewriting and rearranging before it could be put on the boards, but it ignored or maltreated Weber's music to an unpardonable extent, and that his translation of 'Abu Hassan' was not entirely his own, and was certainly incomplete so far as the songs were concerned.

It appears to me that the whole matter requires clearing up, and it is my purpose in this paper to attempt to do so with the help of such material as I have at my disposal several thousand miles away from libraries adequately equipped for the purpose.

After a preliminary discussion, Mr. Price in his article suggests that Washington Irving's experiments with dramaturgy during the years 1823-26 were due to "a lifelong love of the theatre and a need of money". I can readily concede the first of these, but I doubt whether the second can be regarded as of equal importance. But while I admit that these motives may have been powerful stimuli to Irving, I feel that there are even deeper reasons to be found for his

<sup>2</sup> W. P. Trent & G. S. Hellman, 'The Journals of Washington Irving,' printed for the members of the Bibliophile Society only, 3 vols. (Boston, 1919); also S. T. Williams, 'Extracts from Journal of Washington Irving 1823-1824' (Harvard University Press, 1931). All the references to the 'Journals' in this paper have been quoted from these volumes.

sudden interest in German opera in general, and in 'Der Freischütz' in particular.

In 1815 Washington Irving, aged thirty-two, landed for the first time in England and, after a week at Liverpool, journeyed to Birmingham, where he was welcomed by his youngest sister and her husband, Henry van Wart.<sup>6</sup> From van Wart's house Irving set out on those tours through the British Isles, twelve in number, which were to kindle anew his already romantic spirit; and it was in that house that, in all likelihood, he pondered over the collections of German folk tales he had come across, some of which had been translated into English, though by no means all.

Irving recognized at once that here, in German legend, was the fountainhead of romantic literature, and Sir Walter Scott, whom he visited in 1817, confirmed this opinion.<sup>7</sup> But although he read what German literature he could obtain in translation, and even struggled with some in the original<sup>8</sup> in spite of his having only a rudimentary knowledge of German, it was not until the end of 1822 that he actually visited Germany, and came face to face with German life and thought.

Washington Irving arrived at Dresden on November 28th 1822 and remained there until May 20th 1823, on which day he left for a visit to Prague. He stayed in that city until June 26th. He departed from the Saxon city for good on July 12th 1823.

These are the actual dates, and it is important that they should be set down clearly in order that the sequence of events regarding Irving's work on Weber's operas should be followed correctly. Unless this is done we find that all manner of misconceptions may result. One such is that contained in the statement made by Professor E. J. Dent in the introduction to his new translation of 'Der Freischütz'.<sup>9</sup>

"Washington Irving", he says, "saw a performance of 'Der Freischütz' at Dresden in 1823 and began to sketch an adaptation for the English stage. He did not get very far in translating the musical numbers, which evidently presented him with some difficulty."

This statement is incorrect. Irving did not witness a performance of 'Der Freischütz' at Dresden in 1823. He did, however, see the opera performed twice in Prague, on Sunday, June 8th, and on Friday, June 20th of that year. Professor Dent's statement would suggest that Irving had seen the work given under Weber's own

<sup>6</sup> S. T. Williams, 'The Life of Washington Irving', Vol. I, pp. 145-46.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162 and elsewhere in Chap. vii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154 and 179.

<sup>9</sup> E. J. Dent, 'Der Freischütz (The Devil's Bullet)' (London, 1948), p. 17.

direction, which was not the case. In the printed copy of his translation, however, in an "Author's private note", Irving refers to "the representation at Dresden".<sup>10</sup> He may have inquired about this, or may have had it described to him by his Dresden friends, but, so far as I can ascertain, he never saw one himself. Could this note have been the source of Dent's error?

Irving, as I have said, arrived at Dresden on November 28th 1822. He became friendly almost at once with various members of the British diplomatic corps, including Mr. Morier, the British ambassador, and his son, Captain Morier, as well as with other officers, such as Captain Butler, Captain Trotter "of the Lancers" and "Colonel" Livius "of the Hussars". The last-named introduced Irving to the Foster family, with whom the American author became very friendly, even to the extent of falling in love with the elder daughter!

"Colonel" Livius, as we shall see, played a very important part in this period of Washington Irving's life, and since, in a footnote to his article, Mr. Price suggests that the name Livius may have been a pseudonym<sup>11</sup>, it would, I think, be just as well to dispose of this matter for good and all.

Barham John Livius was born at Bedford, in 1787. He was the second son of George and Mary Livius. This George Livius was born in Lisbon in 1743, and he had migrated to England before 1785, when he married Mary Barham, a London girl. George Livius settled at Bedford and was received into the membership of the Moravian congregation there six months after his marriage. He became a leading member of that congregation, being for many years a warden of the church and a generous supporter of its work. His wife, Mary, was the daughter of Joseph and Dorothy Barham. She was one of seven children, and, since her three brothers each bore the middle name of Foster, it is reasonable to suppose her mother's name was Foster. Thus the connection of Barham Livius with the Foster family, who played such an important part in Washington Irving's life at Dresden, becomes apparent, the Foster girls being Livius's cousins. The Livius family was closely connected with St. Peter's Moravian Church, Bedford, for seventy years, covering the entire lifetime of Barham John Livius, who was born in that town in 1787, baptized there, died in London in 1854 and was buried at Bedford.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> W. Irving, 'The Wild Huntsman' (Boston, 1924), p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 349, footnote 8.

<sup>12</sup> This information was obtained for me by Rev. W. Smith, of St. Peter's Church, Bedford. I possess a complete genealogy of the Livius family worked out by him. Barham Livius was the cousin of the Foster girls, not of their mother as stated by Mr. Price.



These facts must be known in order that the Irving-Livius and Irving-Foster friendships (the latter growing out of the former) may be made clear, and that the full reason for Irving's pilgrimage to Bedford in July 1824 may be understood. During this visit he called at the house of "old Mrs. Livius", a "monastic-looking house" as he calls it. A print of this house is in the possession of the Corporation of Bedford.<sup>13</sup>

Barham Livius, apart from his military and possibly diplomatic occupations, appears to have been a man of considerable leisure. He was an amateur dramatist and an amateur musician, writing and acting in plays, and composing and arranging music, as well as playing upon pianoforte and horn. I have elsewhere outlined his career as a dramatist<sup>14</sup>, but I would add that he also arranged the music of Weigl's opera 'Die Schweizerfamilie' for Planché's translation of the work, entitled 'Lilla', which was produced at Covent Garden on October 21st 1825. A criticism of the opening performance, most unflattering to Livius, appeared in 'The Harmonicon'.<sup>15</sup>

His military career, however (if one dare call it such), is worth recounting, if only to show that, in spite of the fact that he was always styled "Colonel", he never held that rank. He was appointed by purchase to a half-pay commission as cornet in the 10th Hussars on July 4th 1816, exchanged to full pay of the 6th Dragoon Guards on May 29th 1817, and on July 31st 1817 purchased a half-pay lieutenantancy in the 15th Hussars, retiring on May 20th 1826. As his only period on full pay was for two months in 1817, it is quite probable that he never did any actual soldiering and possibly never even joined his regiment.<sup>16</sup>

Before Christmas 1822 Washington Irving had, through the kind offices of the British ambassador, been presented at court to Frederick Augustus himself and to other members of the Saxon royal family. By this time, too, Irving had become very friendly with Barham Livius, met him every other day and frequently dined with him "tête-à-tête", to use Irving's own expression. Through Livius he got to know the Fosters, and from that time forth the little circle seems to have gone mad on private theatricals, for which Livius was undoubtedly primarily responsible.

The first work to be performed by this little group was 'Tom Thumb', and it was produced on January 8th 1823. Both Livius and Irving were in the cast, and so were the Foster girls. 'Tom

<sup>13</sup> Information supplied to me by the Town Clerk, Bedford.

<sup>14</sup> P. R. Kirby, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-35.

<sup>15</sup> No. XXXV, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> Information supplied to me by the Librarian of the War Office, London.

Thumb' was originally a play by Henry Fielding, produced in 1731, the language of which was very free. Although a play, it contained, apart from a song, plenty of scope for incidental music. But the most popular version of 'Tom Thumb' was that by Kane O'Hara, who had rewritten it as a "burlesque opera, altered from Fielding". In this version most of the characters have to sing, including King Arthur (who was played by Irving) and Noodle (who was played by Livius). Unfortunately Irving does not tell us which version was used or whether it was a new one prepared by Livius, who managed the production. But his 'Journal' shows clearly that only ten days were spent on the work from the copying out of the script to the actual performance!

Up to this point Irving made no mention in his 'Journals' of Weber, 'Der Freischütz' or any other opera at Dresden, or even of a public theatre. He had been far too busy to think very much about such things, though I have little doubt that, in his frequent private meetings with Livius, these topics had cropped up occasionally, and I could even imagine that Livius might have shown Irving the German text, at least, of 'Der Freischütz'.

On January 9th, however, Irving went in a droshky to see the hunting of hares. The hunt was undertaken by the *Jäger* of M. Lutichau (? Lüttichau), the "Upper Forest Master", as Irving calls him. Several of the foreign ministers were present. On the following day, January 10th, Irving went at dawn to Lutichau's, to accompany him to the royal boar hunt. Everything that took place that day was redolent of the atmosphere of Weber's masterpiece, so much so that I feel constrained, in view of what follows, to quote Irving's description of the scene *in extenso*:

In the morning, at half-past-six, went to M. Lutichau's to accompany him to the Royal Boar Hunt. Found him at his quarters in the *Jägerhof*, an old Convent with small towers—gateway with figures of hunters, etc. In the quadrangle deer's heads on the walls—in his room books of hunting, of forest trees, etc. Accompanied him in his drouschki to Langeburck—went through pine forests—Langeburck a little village—the house of the forester where the King dines after the *chasse*. Here were several officers of the *chasse* and forest—in uniforms of green hunting coat—drab trousers—hunting whip with lash tucked round their waists—hunting sword—horn slung over shoulder—one Forest Master of—, a fine, tall manly fellow—number of *jägers*, etc., all in green uniforms. In forest house the pictures are hung with garlands by forester's daughter—hunters with guns slung over shoulder—others arrive with greatcoats over their uniform . . . house in which all the servants, &c., play[ing] on horns—singing, &c., &c.

After this one is not surprised to read, in the entry in the

'Journals' for January 13th: "Busy with Col. Livius about the songs and music of the *Freischütz*". The spark had ignited the tinder, and the blaze had begun!

On the following evening Irving went to a theatre with Colonel Livius and Captain Butler, but he does not tell us what he saw there. Had it been Weber's opera he would most certainly have done so. But 'Der Freischütz' had to wait while another amateur dramatic performance was planned and put into execution. This was Arthur Murphy's 'Three Weeks after Marriage'. Not until January 19th did Irving record: "Dine at hotel with Co. Livius—all the morning busy about the songs of the *Freischütz*".

Again the work was laid aside, and once more Irving attended a royal boar hunt. On this occasion Prince Anton, after slaying the boar, gave Irving a branch broken from a bush to wear in his hat which "every one does when present at a successful *chasse*". Washington Irving must, for once, have felt himself identified with the hero Max in Weber's opera; Emily Foster, alas, for whom he had already developed a deep affection, was in no mood to play the part of Agathe!

But in spite of this fresh stimulus the work was once again postponed, since daily rehearsals for 'Three Weeks' were being held, and these went on until Friday, February 28th.

Next day Irving came into actual contact with a work of Weber's, for he went to the theatre and "saw part of *Preciosa*". However, he makes no comment upon either Wolff's play or Weber's incidental music.<sup>17</sup>

By this time a third play was under rehearsal, the work being 'The Wonder; or a Woman Keeps a Secret', a five-act comedy by Mrs. Centlivre, in which Irving, as Don Felix, had a remarkable opportunity to pay theatrical court to his adored Emily, as Violante. What with learning his lines, attending rehearsals and curbing the emotions that the play must undoubtedly have aroused, Irving had little or no time to devote to mere operatic translation. The performance took place on April 4th, and during the action Irving in the part of Don Felix had to fire a pistol, which he had borrowed from Livius. Unfortunately Irving, during one rehearsal, had thoughtlessly discharged the piece through an open window, and this being contrary to law, he had to go on April 10th to Pirna, to answer for his misdemeanour. The authorities on this occasion were lenient (I scent ambassadorial influence here) and let the American off with a nominal fine!

<sup>17</sup> In a footnote to the 'Journal' the editors call 'Preciosa' an opera, which, of course, it is not.

And in the entry for the same day we read: "Livius came in from the country—has near finished his opera". This work, however, had nothing to do with Weber; it was a little opera, altered from the French, which Livius hoped to have performed by the amateur dramatic circle, and which he actually completed by April 11th. It, however, "absolutely fell through from being too much managed".

During the next few days Irving visited Livius daily, and either at this time, or possible before it, Livius introduced him to the text of Weber's 'Abu Hassan' in its original form.<sup>18</sup> Be that as it may, Irving's 'Journal' contains this entry for Sunday, April 20th: "Translate part of *Abon* [sic] *Hassan* . . . Concert in the Queen's apartments. at eight . . . some good music. Weber played some of his own music on piano." This would appear to be one of the very few occasions on which Irving may have met Weber. Livius, on the other hand, must have come into contact with the composer fairly frequently, for, as I have shown elsewhere, he not only purchased from him full scores of 'Der Freischütz' and 'Abu Hassan', most likely in 1823, but was actually presented by the composer with a signed copy of his overture 'The Ruler of the Spirits'<sup>19</sup>, in 1822.

Mr. Price, in discussing the collaboration between Irving and Livius, assumes that Irving was, as it were, the "senior partner" of the firm. He not only says that "Livius soon recognized an opportunity to ally himself with superior talent"<sup>20</sup>, but that he "tried persistently to use Irving's literary talent and was quite willing to respect his partner's wish for anonymity, as of benefit to himself".<sup>21</sup> He even goes so far as to dub him "a third-rate adapter of third-rate continental drama for the English stage".<sup>22</sup>

Now, I hold no brief for Livius, for, whatever he may or may not have done to Irving (or to Planché, for that matter), he certainly played a crooked game with Weber.<sup>23</sup> But a comparison of his work with Irving's, so far as it is available, is very illuminating. It is, in fact, sufficient to make me wonder to which of the two any credit that is going ought to be given.

But before we begin to compare their work it is, I think, necessary to consider what knowledge each of them had of the German language and of music.

<sup>18</sup> That is, without the dirge "Hier liegt, welch martervolles Loos", which Weber did not compose until March 1823.

<sup>19</sup> My full score of 'Abu Hassan' was made by the same copyist who made this score of 'The Ruler of the Spirits'. The latter is B. M. Add. MS 31771.

<sup>20</sup> G. R. Price, *loc. cit.*, p. 350.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>23</sup> P. R. Kirby, *loc. cit.*, pp. 349-50.

Washington Irving appears to have begun seriously the study of German after his visit to Sir Walter Scott in 1817. He then actually bought a German grammar and studied German day and night. His object was twofold: to equip himself to read German folklore in the original language and to enable him to forget the dreadful experiences he had undergone recently in the bankruptcy court.<sup>24</sup>

His progress may be judged by the fact that in his own 'Rip van Winkle' there are passages which are "little more than verbal translations from one of the tales from the collection of Otmar".<sup>25</sup> This would seem to indicate that Irving could translate with some success, but not necessarily that he could speak German. That he could not do so is suggested by the fact that when in January 1823 he met Ludwig Tieck, he "was forced to carry on his part of the conversation in English".<sup>26</sup> Irving did, however, do his best to remedy the deficiency, for while at Dresden he studied under two German teachers, from one of whom he received five and a half months' tuition. We may therefore assume that he had a fair knowledge of German from a translator's point of view, though it would not have been sufficient for him to attempt anything of a really subtle nature.

Livius, on the other hand, was doubtless well grounded in the German language. Born of a father who himself was, in all likelihood, familiar with German<sup>27</sup>, and who was a member of the Moravian church, he had when about eight years of age been taken to the Fulneck Boys' School at Pudsey, near Leeds, and there enrolled as a scholar. This school was established at Fulneck by the Moravians in 1753; and for the first few months the school journal was actually kept in German.<sup>28</sup> For many years German masters were in charge of the boys, so there is little doubt that young Livius was well grounded in the language. Unfortunately it seems impossible to discover how long he remained at the Fulneck Boys' School. After his youthful education was over, he had joined the army and, later, had been in close association with the diplomatic corps at Dresden. He must, therefore, have had a considerable knowledge of German.

Turning to music, all that we know of Irving's capabilities is that he was able to play upon the flute, though to what extent we are not told.<sup>29</sup> Livius, on the other hand, played both pianoforte

<sup>24</sup> S. T. Williams, 'Life', Vol. I, Chap. vii, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-36.

<sup>27</sup> I have, however, no proof of this.

<sup>28</sup> Information supplied to me by Miss D. A. Connor, Headmistress of Fulneck Girls' School, and Rev. A. J. Lewis, Headmaster of Fulneck Boys' School.

<sup>29</sup> S. T. Williams, 'Life', Vol. I, p. 146.

and horn.<sup>30</sup> He had also composed the libretto and the music of an operetta<sup>31</sup>, and had translated, adapted or arranged at least three other works.<sup>32</sup> All these had been completed and produced before he met Irving in December 1822.

This comparison would appear to suggest that, from the point of view of language, there was not much to choose between the two men, Livius's knowledge of German being compensated for by Irving's command of English, though the former had in his favour previous practical experience in translating and adapting musical works. But from the point of view of the musician there is little doubt that Livius's ability was superior to Irving's, and this suggestion is, I think, borne out by a comparison of their translations.

Let us examine 'Der Freischütz' first. Irving's version, if one may judge it by the edition printed in 1924, is of course very similar to that by Livius, which was printed in 1824. Mr. Price, fully aware of the collaboration between the two men, repeatedly calls it the "the Livius-Irving" libretto, except in one place, where he styles it the "Livius-Irving-Planché" version. It is probably impossible to discover now what precisely was Planché's share in the work. The title-page of the original edition of the opera bears the name of Barham Livius alone<sup>33</sup>, although in the Prefatory Remarks Livius, in the part of author, gives credit to Planché "for whatever of poetic merit this opera may possess." Planché, however, in a footnote to his autobiography, seems to claim that the printed version of the opera was his, and that Livius only "arranged the music", whatever that may mean.<sup>34</sup>

But one feature of Irving's libretto is very significant, and that is the inadequacy, amounting to almost complete neglect, of the words of those portions of the opera which were to be sung. For it is a fact that in the printed libretto most of the lyrical portions are missing. I quote from Irving's libretto 'The Wild Huntsman'<sup>35</sup> (and later on from 'Abu Hassan') by kind permission of Mr. George S. Hellman and the Bibliophile Society. The only musical numbers referred to in Irving's libretto are these (I give them the numbers according to Jähns)<sup>36</sup>:

<sup>30</sup> 'Journals', entry for Dec. 19th 1822 and Jan. 16th 1823.

<sup>31</sup> Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>33</sup> B. Livius, 'The Freyschütz, . . .' (London, 1825).

<sup>34</sup> J. R. Planché, 'Recollections and Reflections', new and revised ed. (London, 1901), p. 54, footnote.

<sup>35</sup> Mr. George S. Hellman, who edited the play for publication, tells me that Irving's manuscript has no title. The English binder gave it the name 'Hunting Drama', but Mr. Hellman himself chose the title 'The Wild Huntsman'. (In a letter dated Dec. 19th 1948.)

<sup>36</sup> F W. Jähns, 'Carl Maria von Weber in seinen Werken' (Berlin, 1871), pp. 297-301.



- Chorus (1): "Victoria, victoria!"  
 Procession and Dance (1 continued).  
 Song (1 continued): "Schau der Herr".  
 Chorus (from 2): "Das Wild in Fluren".  
 Dance (from 3).  
 Glee [*sic*] (possibly an interpolated piece).  
 Song (4): "Hier im ird'schen Jammertal".  
 Recit. and Aria (3 continued): "Nein! länger trag' ich nicht die Qualen".  
 Polacco [*sic*] (7, but given to the heroine).  
 Recit. (and Aria) (8): "Wie nahte mir der Schlummer".  
 Chorus, &c. (10): "Milch des Mondes".  
 Aria (possibly interpolated; it is called 'Serenade' in Livius's version).  
 Duet (possibly interpolated; it is also in Livius's version).  
 Air (12): "Und ob die Wolke".  
 Song and Chorus (14): "Wir winden dir".  
 Grand Chorus (15): "Was gleicht wohl auf Erden".

The printed edition of Irving's libretto contains no words for any of the vocal numbers except in two instances. The song (1 continued) has three regular verses (two of which correspond to two in Livius's version) and a fourth alternative verse. The aria (12) has no words printed in the text, but in a footnote the editor explains that

Irving's MS shows his initial attempt to translate the poem, but his inclusion of some German words shows that he may have been just merry, or that he had not yet found the English equivalent in meaning and syllables. His version begins as follows:

And if the clouds obscure its beauty  
 The sun still rests at Himmel's height,  
 There ever reigns a holy power  
 That watches over human good.

In the case of three of the remaining vocal numbers the editor has quoted from Natalia Macfarren's version of the opera.<sup>87</sup> These are Nos. 2 (chorus), 3 and 8. The "Wolf's Glen" Scene (10) was cut to next to nothing by Irving, but was largely restored by Livius. No music whatever was suggested by Irving for the conclusion of the opera. Three of the numbers, however, would appear to be interpolated, the glee, one aria and one duet. I have been unable to identify any of them with Weber's work.

From the foregoing it is obvious that Irving was chiefly concerned with the play and only incidentally with the music. In this connection it is particularly interesting to read in his 'Journals' that the Queen of Saxony actually said to him, on April 27th 1823: "You must write something about Dresden, about our customs—such as our hunt".

<sup>87</sup> N. Macfarren, 'Der Freischütz, . . .' (London, n.d.), vocal score with English and German words, publ. by Novello and Co.

In the case of 'Der Freischütz' we are in a position to compare Irving's libretto with that by Livius, with the exception of those portions which were set to music. Mr. Price, having made such a comparison, comes to a definite conclusion and says: "That Planché merely altered the Livius-Irving libretto cannot be doubted when one compares Hellman's edition of the manuscript with the version published in 1824".<sup>38</sup> And, so far as the dialogue is concerned, he is correct, if he is right in assuming that Planché touched it up. Livius, however, may have been responsible for the alterations, though this cannot be proved, since no Livius manuscript of 'Der Freischütz' has hitherto come to light. But then, neither has one by Planché!

One curious fact remains, which was revealed during the comparison of Irving's libretto with that by Livius. The latter introduces a scene, in Act I, in which Lina (Aennchen) visits the Hermit, who provides her with a bunch of white roses for Bertha's (Agathe's) protection.<sup>39</sup> Now this scene did not occur in Weber's opera, but it did in a slightly different form in Kind's original libretto. On the advice of his own "Lina" Weber discarded it. The restoration of the scene by Livius suggests that he had access to Kind's original libretto, as well as to the form in which Weber used it. Irving, however, knew nothing of this; in fact he reduced the Hermit's part to a few mere spoken lines at the very end of the drama.

The case of 'Abu Hassan', on the other hand, is quite different. Irving's libretto, so far as it goes, has been printed complete, both dialogue and lyrics being included. Livius's dialogue has disappeared, but his lyrics are written in pencil underneath the voice parts in the manuscript full score of the opera which he purchased from Weber at Dresden in 1823, and which is in my possession. When I wrote my article on the Weber operas in 1940 I was, as I have already stated, unaware that Irving had ever been concerned in the business, and so I passed over Livius's lyrical lines very lightly. Now, however, I have collated them line by line with Irving's with somewhat startling results. Since the printing of the whole would necessitate an undue amount of space I must, I feel, confine myself to quoting a few passages and to giving the results of my comparison. The ultimate conclusions are, however, justified, in my opinion.

The opera 'Abu Hassan' consists, in the latest form in which its composer left it, of an overture and ten musical numbers. Of the latter Irving translated all except Nos. 8 and 10, whereas Livius

<sup>38</sup> Livius, *op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

completed the whole. A comparison between the two versions yields the following results:

No. 1. *Duet*: The two versions are completely different, except in one stanza, where Irving has:

Silent symptoms of my need—  
Bread and water, water, bread.

whereas Livius has:

Woeful symptoms of our need  
Bread and water, water, bread.

And in one other line, where Irving's

Wilt thou drive me to distraction?

appears in Livius as:

Will you drive me to distraction?

On the whole, however, Livius's version suits the music better than Irving's, and he has actually modified the time-values of the notes here and there to achieve a better result.

No. 2. *Air*: There is virtually nothing in common between the two versions. Irving, however, omits at least twenty-nine lines! He is, moreover, guilty of several dreadful verses, such as:

And with her purple lip  
Shall first Fatima sip.

where Livius has:

That my fair one's lips of ruby  
May delicious nectar sip.

and again, where Irving gives us:

Now, dearest, to our welfare—  
And that it long may tell fair,

Livius has:

This luscious draught inviting  
To love and bliss exciting.

No. 3. *Chorus*: This is the famous creditors' chorus, and the two versions of it are identical, except for two lines, in which Irving has failed to adjust the metrical accents to those of the music, though Livius has succeeded in doing so. Undoubtedly the two men worked together on this number, but, equally undoubtedly, Livius did not show Irving his amended version.

No. 4. *Duet*: Irving omits sixteen lines from this duet. The eight which he gives are very close to those by Livius (or vice versa), but Livius's are the better.

No. 5. *Air*: The two versions are entirely different. Irving, translating literally, begins:

The nightingale ne'er grieves her  
When from her cage set free.

Livius, however, doubtless unwilling to suggest the caging of a nightingale (common enough on the Continent), starts thus:

Now gaily sings the linnet,  
Which long a captive pined.

Irving has apparently made little or no attempt to fit his words to the music; Livius has been careful to do so throughout.

No. 6. *Duet*: The two versions are almost identical. In the few lines where they differ Livius's version is the better, for here again his words fit the music perfectly.

No. 7. *Trio*: Once more the two versions are so close to each other that it is manifest that they were written in collaboration. In both, however, there is a certain amount of inversion, of the kind which I have heard described as of the "His nose he cut off shall" school. These, however, occur where all three voices sing together, and they are thus of little moment. Again, however, Livius has the advantage, though there is little to choose between Irving's appalling:

Thou art done over  
Should he thee find.

and Livius's execrable:

Die will he certainly  
Should he him find.

No. 8. *Air*: This, the dirge, was not composed by Weber until March 1823, and not performed in public until August 30th of that year. Because of this I presume that Livius could not have obtained a copy of it before September. Irving, however, left Dresden for good on July 12th. He met Livius again in Paris in 1824, but obviously Livius did not show him the new number, or even tell him about it. It is therefore missing from Irving's version, though translated, and translated excellently, by Livius.

No. 9. *Trio and Chorus*: Here again the two versions are practically identical, and again the principal differences are due to Livius's better adjustment of the words to the music. There is, however, one extraordinary passage, where Irving has:

Quickly! Quickly! dead and dumb be!  
Ah, already I'm half dead!  
Both must be upon our death bed,  
Then completed will the Hum be!

but Livius has:

Quickly! quickly, lie down here!  
Ah, already I'm half dead!  
Here, lie quickly on the bed!  
Now the music comes more near.

Here Livius's version not only fits the music but suits the situation. And one wonders how much of Irving's could have been caught by the audience in performance.

No. 10. *Final Chorus*: Missing from Irving's version, but complete in Livius's.

From this comparison I feel that we may legitimately conclude that Mr. Price has rather overstressed Livius's indebtedness to Irving, and that not only was he capable of turning out a workmanlike translation of his own, but that he was superior to Irving when it came to fitting singable words to music. Further, there is no evidence to show which of the two men was primarily responsible for the translation in those instances in which their versions are identical, or virtually so. The basic translation may well have been completed jointly, after which Livius, the better musician, revised his copy later on, but did not communicate his changes to his collaborator. I cannot agree that "Livius soon recognized an opportunity to ally himself with superior talent"<sup>40</sup>, but prefer to consider that each man helped the other, and that their work represents, in general, a joint effort.

The case of 'Der Freischütz' is, however, rather different from that of 'Abu Hassan', for the former work was actually produced, while the latter was not. In this connection the Prefatory Remarks in Livius's published version of 1824 are of considerable importance. Mr. Price states that "On October 6th [1824] Irving was writing 'hints for Livius's introduction to Freischütz'", and that "They were still working over the first act and the preface to the libretto when production was a week away, and were correcting Freischütz on October 11th, the day after the libretto was published in London."<sup>41</sup> There seems to be something wrong here, for although the Prefatory Remarks bear the subscription "Paris, October 10th 1824", it is true that Irving was actually correcting the libretto on the 11th. It is therefore manifest that Mr. Price is incorrect in assuming that the libretto, with Prefatory Remarks, was published on October 10th. Doubtless he assumed that the date printed at the end of the Remarks was the date of publication. Actually that must have been much later.

<sup>40</sup> Price, *loc. cit.*, p. 350.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

## THE STRING QUARTET

By LIONEL TERTIS

THE justification for my publishing these ruminations and suggestions lies in my having played in a number of quartets and coached others. My first quartet was Percy Miles's, in about 1896. I remember that my remuneration in Hans Wessely's quartet was five shillings a concert. Other string quartets in which I have played were Willy Hess's, the Emile Sauret and the Louis Zimmermann. I was a deputy in the Bohemian Quartet at a time when their violist was supposed to be ill but had, in point of fact, run off with the first violinist's wife. Then I was a member of the Harold Bauer Piano Quartet (Bauer, Huberman, Tertis, Salmond) for two American tours, and also for years of the 'Chamber Music Players' (Murdoch, Sammons, Tertis, and three cellists in succession—Salmond, Sharp and Kennedy). When we first organized ourselves we were at a loss for a name, for the idea was to play trios and sonatas as well as piano quartets. My wife came to the rescue, suggesting 'The Chamber Music Players', a title which has recently been handed over to a Cardiff combination. The Griller and Zorian quartets, the Carter String Trio and the Cardiff Players are among those I have coached.

What are, to begin with, the essentials, if a high standard of playing is aimed at? The first is obvious: great executive powers, together with fine musicianship, on the part of each member. Less obvious and often disregarded is the next: a close relation in tone-quality between the four instruments themselves. This is more difficult of attainment than the layman would suppose. And still more difficult is the next essential: the players must agree. They must be at one in style and outlook. The way of perfection is beset with pitfalls. Not seldom has a fine combination broken up through petty quarrels. And one often hears an ensemble ruined by the lack of warmth in one or another of the members.

The leader needs to be a master-musician and a virtuoso, with a mind of profound musical understanding and hands adequate to scores bristling with technical difficulties. Herein is a great obstacle in the way of perfection; for the violinists of this calibre are few who are ready to divide modest spoils into four equal parts. Let the listener who hears such a one realize that that violinist could do



much better for himself, in the ordinary sense of the term, by solo-playing. A supremely fine quartet cannot, in the world we live in, exist without a subsidy. My mind goes back to the various combinations I have heard, and I give the palm to the Curtis Quartet who, as I remember them in the Aeolian Hall, touched the ideal. They were subsidized by the Curtis Institute of Philadelphia. They had all the attributes one could wish for.

How hard to come by is the team spirit! And yet, without it, all chamber music is vanity. Self-conceit and a sense of superiority on the part of any one of the members, and the spirit has fled. To the right frame of mind is to be added intense and incessant application. It is a hard road. I will add some hints for rehearsing. (i) A fine ensemble can be achieved only by specialization. To obtain a good balance of tone cultivate the habit of listening separately, as it were, to yourself and at the same time to your colleagues. (ii) Practise very long, slow bows *pianissimo*, from the heel and from the point. (iii) Practise very long bows *fortissimo*, without scraping or forcing the tone. (iv) Practise starting together in *pianissimo* and in *fortissimo* at different parts of the bow. The start must be absolutely simultaneous, without the suspicion of preliminary sound or dither. Practise, also, starting together with bows on the string and off the string.

The players should arrange their bowings so that all, wherever possible, use up and down bows together. Alertness should be practised. From time to time the first violinist should alter without notice his established nuance and tempo to test the alertness of the others in falling in with his departure. It may well happen in an actual performance that one member or another may, in the heat of the moment, vary the tempo or nuance previously agreed upon; and in an alert quartet the others will conform without the quiver of an eyelid. Tune your instrument most accurately before going to the platform. Avoid tuning, as far as possible, between movements. If tune you must, do so surreptitiously, or the continuity of the music is disturbed.

Avoid open strings unless a blatant sound is actually wanted. The open string is generally an undesirable intruder in quartet playing. Members should practise their individual parts with utter scrupulousness and overcome all executive difficulties before attending rehearsal. Each should be able to play his part standing on his head!

Above all, never lose sight of the fact that if the wooden object that is under your chin or between your knees is to yield a living, expressive utterance you must throw yourself, heart and soul and all

that you are, into the adventure. Make the sounds you produce, whether in fortissimo or pianissimo, the expression of your innermost self.

A hint for pizzicato playing: do not pluck the string so that it hits the fingerboard (the resulting noise is detestable). In pizzicato chords the fingerboard is still more likely to be struck. Play such chords up, that is, from the upper string (not the lower) obliquely (towards the scroll), across the fingerboard. Low stands should be used, so that each player has a full view of the others. Do not resort to obvious gesture to make a simultaneous start. A wink, unseen by the audience, should be enough. Distinguish in rehearsal most scrupulously between piano and pianissimo, forte and fortissimo; and see to it that in your "hairpins" the swell and diminution of sound are precisely the same on all four instruments as the hairpin opens and closes. Variety of fingering, when you have exact repetitions in the music, adds colour. Years ago I wrote a booklet called 'Beauty of Tone', published by the Oxford University Press, which contains remarks the quartet player is invited to consider.

The viola addresses the following observations to the pianoforte. Let not your lid be fully open. The strings cannot cope with all the volume of tone you are capable of. If the lid has to be opened let the short stick be used, and endeavour to keep a balance between your tone and the strings. Left hand and sustaining pedal—these have a different part to play in chamber music from solo work. The ponderous bass of the piano can, but must not, overwhelm the strings. Infinitely cautious should the pianist be in his pedalling. How much more difficult it seems to be to play the piano—that elaborate machine—than a stringed instrument: to play it, that is to say, musically, to make it sing! There is a superstition among pianists that by digging into the keyboard a melody can be made expressive. The result is not the intended one. Rather, surely, should the fingers crawl over the keys if any approximation is to be reached to the effect of the smooth manipulation of the string-player's bow. It is one of the rarest experiences to hear, in an ensemble with piano, a satisfactory tone-quality and balance. Let me suggest to the pianist that he should listen to the other fellows as well as himself.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Essays and Lectures on Music.* By Donald Francis Tovey. pp. 404.  
(Oxford University Press, 1949.) 18s.

More than to any other English writer on music we are indebted to Donald Tovey. Other scholars have contributed valuable work in special fields, but Tovey's sixteen volumes cover the greater part of musical history from Palestrina to the present day, with penetrating musical insight every inch of the way. Tovey's influence has been extensive—at its worst allowing otherwise sensitive writers to rely on his *dicta* instead of their own thought, at its best presenting a fuller, clearer vision of music and the composer-mind, whetting the ordinary listener's appetite and stimulating the writer on music to new ideas and channels of approach. We are in his debt once more, for here are collected a number of further writings on widely contrasted subjects. They are all occasional articles, like so much of his best work, and as such have all been published at one time or another. But many of them have become almost inaccessible with the years and have been crying out for republication. Each has something to teach us, and together they add enormously to our knowledge of Tovey's mind.

It was a copious, magnificently fertile mind. Sometimes it has been suggested that there were "several Toveys". Certainly there were the teacher, the performer and the composer. But the three figures confound mathematics, adding up in Tovey's literary output to one—a strikingly complete musician. Anyone acquainted with that output knows that Tovey's literary style was distinctive and accomplished—he was not a classical scholar for nothing—but the manner of presentation was an adjunct. What is precious in Tovey is his rare, unflagging musicianship. His approach to music is never clouded by other than musical considerations. The only qualification he ever claims—and he repeats this again and again—is that of a practical musician.

Facts as such do not interest him particularly; and the list of *errata* could sometimes qualify as an item in the contents of his books. This volume is no exception. Tovey can quite happily, for example, misattribute the authorship of one of Schubert's song-texts ('Viola, eine Blumenballade' the text of which is by Schober, not Mayrhofer). But such matters were of minor concern with him. Musically he is naturally precise, for he is inside the music all the time. Only the approach from within can have enabled him to bring vivid freshness to bear on what might seem at first glance a conventionally applied musical *cliché*. In his essay on Beethoven's art-forms in this book Tovey shows, for instance, how an apparently regular movement such as the first in the Sonata, Op. 22, bristles with irregularities, while the supposedly meandering C sharp minor Quartet is rooted in classical forms, to each of which a new twist is given.

It was again this penetrating musicianship that made technique a matter of Tovey's ardent concern. He speaks from experience when he

says that, "The critic . . . finds it easy enough to say that technique is only a means to an end, but seldom troubles to find out whether a technical term may not be the shortest definition of an artistic end". Many a semi-musician shudders at the words "flattened submediant". Tovey is not afraid of them, for such jargon is to him an aid to musical precision. This book reprints from 'Music & Letters' (October 1928) a fine essay on Schubert's tonality, a subject—among the most miraculous phenomena in all music—that repays study. Such an essay could not have been written without the employment of technical terms, or would not have been worth writing. Tovey ensures that every reader will be able to follow his argument by prefacing the essay with a rapid but comprehensive glance at the principles of classical tonality. Surveying Schubert's adaptation of those principles, he pauses again to demonstrate and tabulate the natural steps of remote key-relation. Since he had little time for classical text-books on harmony and since he, unlike their authors, conceived the matter with relation to music as she is composed, these tables, lucid and interesting, are worth studying, whether or not you are new to the game. Semi-musicians who, with a groan, pass by on the other side will be fools. Tovey's account is as remote from dusty academicism as may be conceived, and he reveals the fascination of his subject with an enthusiasm that cannot but be shared by his readers.

But his preoccupation with intrinsically musical values is not without its disadvantages. The ridicule he pours on historical considerations in performance comes back like a boomerang when he suggests that, if Bach's cantatas are to be performed in the conditions of the composer's day, then the choir should receive a sound flogging afterwards. Then his adoration of Palestrina's purity seems to blind him, if only partly, to the achievement of that composer's less orthodox contemporaries, Lasso, Byrd, Weelkes. It is not easy to discover what leads Tovey to assert in *obiter dicta* on 'Words and Music': "The real madrigalian art is inveterately illustrative. . . . For the critic this illustrative aspect has the danger that it may distract his attention from purely musical values." The word-painting beloved of the madrigalists was essentially a musician's device, designed to appeal to musicians; and its employment challenges the creator's powers of stylistic integration. For Tovey such devices were meretricious beside Palestrina's pure euphony. It is partly this attitude and partly the attitude of his period that make him proclaim: "When we call the sixteenth century the Golden Age of music we think in the first place of Palestrina". And again: "I feel entitled to say that the greatest motet will probably be greater than the greatest madrigal; and I do not expect a composer who has written nothing but madrigals to be of the same calibre as a great composer of motets and masses". And yet it is important to realize that such opinions are reached on musical and not moralistic grounds. Elsewhere Tovey can whole-heartedly commend Dr. Fellowes's labours in the compilation of the English Madrigal School. And he could recognize with enthusiasm Wagner's greatness—though Meyerbeer, without whose influence Wagner could never have achieved his loftiest peaks, was for Tovey a "pariah".

But it is, all said and done, a superbly broad mind. Tovey's reverence for Brahms is an environmental one, and may seem excessive. But it does not cut him off from Wagner or Richard Strauss or Hindemith, to

whose music he contributes a highly appreciative introduction. Tovey has a nose for music, whatever its idiom. The Hindemith of whom he writes so favourably was not the sonorous composer of to-day but the exploratory deviser of dissonant counterpoint who flourished in the early thirties. Tovey cannot help recognizing genius, though he is probably greatly aided here by the knowledge that Hindemith "plays classical music like an angel".

Two of the lectures reprinted are especially typical. 'Musical Form and Matter' adumbrates the musical doctrine he was to expound at Glasgow in the Cramb Lectures of 1936 on 'The Integrity of Music'. It presents almost more clearly, because more concisely, the essence of Tovey's musical philosophy. He had always wanted to make a systematic review of music and, though he professed in this lecture to "come to you with empty hands", his published output repudiates such modesty. It may not be systematic, but few fields remain untouched. The seventeenth century is the outstanding lacuna, and Tovey's views on that period are summed up in his lecture to the British Academy on 'The Main Stream of Music', also in this book. For Tovey, music there "enters into regions partly mountainous and partly desert, and becomes choked with weeds". His beloved master Parry felt the same when he maintained that "the seventeenth century is musically almost a blank". What thunderbolts! Their effect is really to expose the limitations of two great English musicians. For Tovey, at any rate, it is the empirical character of seventeenth-century music which proves off-putting. He seems to take the view that life is too short for us to spend time in considering less than perfect works of art, of which there are so many. Palestrina on the one hand and Bach on the other are for him two towering edifices, and the bridge that separates them so far from achieving their mature proportions as to be a matter of purely historical interest. Tovey, the practical musician, has no time for Interesting Historical Figures or for the musicology that studies them. He suggests that Purcell was a genius born out of period, who could not escape from environmental undergrowth. For a later generation his views on that composer and on Monteverdi can only be deprecated.\*

Naturally enough this lecture has many points in common with 'The Integrity of Music', but it is not merely a *précis*. Subjects there only touched on are here treated in detail. There is also Tovey's description of the processes he used in writing his opera 'The Bride of Dionysus', a revelation as interesting as rare from the mouth of a composer. Tovey's compositions seem to have faded into the background with his death and, while it is reasonable to accept the conventional explanation that one generation instinctively mistrusts the creativity of its immediate forebears, there remains the suspicion that something more radical than mere fashion lies at the bottom of Tovey's present neglect as a composer. Was it that the teacher conflicted with the creator and dammed a spontaneous flow? Did Tovey's insistence on absolute values force his own music into channels incompatible with the full expression of his musical personality? The passage I have just mentioned suggests another possibility. Composers do not, I think, analyse the motives behind their

\* Professor Westrup has discussed this blind spot in his Philip Morris Deneke lecture of 1945 on 'The Meaning of Musical History' (O.U.P.).

work. When one is writing, the piece itself and its satisfactory solution is the all-absorbing concern. What is surprising is that Tovey should have been able to remember and recount his mental processes in the act of composition. Unless he is reconstructing from the evidence of his music (which, even so, is an incomplete and fallible way of going to work), his ability rather suggests an act of consciousness alien to creative spontaneity, even where the adaptation of academic principles is concerned. Was Tovey's music then too careful, too fastidious?

Self-consciousness may well be involved but, before we accept or refuse any one explanation, there is another consideration. In the Romanes lecture on 'Normality and Freedom in Music' Tovey urges normality and not originality as a criterion for music—normality not as "what is usual" but what allows the greatest freedom to the creator. Now Julius Röntgen's Edinburgh Symphony is, by that standard, normal music; so is Schubert's Grand Duo for four hands. But although Tovey writes enthusiastic analyses of both it would be hard to deny that the level of musical, especially thematic, invention is low in either case. The same is true of, say, Tovey's cello concerto. The formal lay-out is excellent and the material highly susceptible of development, but the music has not the quality of memorable significance that makes one long to hear it again, to regard it as an old friend.

With Tovey's writings it is a different matter. Readers familiar with his other essays encounter many familiar instances—"either the soul is blue or not blue"; the Oxford don who would not let his pupils read Homer; Spohr's projected quartets "with shakes at the end of the passages"; and so on. They are old friends and none the less illuminating for their familiarity. In this book we who did not know Tovey in life find an opportunity of completing the view we cannot help having formed in reading and re-reading his other writings. When one has known a man long enough to have heard his anecdotes and his arguments at least twice, he begins to be thought a familiar (unless he is the sort of bore who tells the same stories every evening). And when the instances can recur and bring with them a glow of pleasure in the listener, then that man has become a friend. Tovey has become such a friend to many who never knew him. The quips and illustrations have lost their novelty but never their point, for Tovey's was the lively, penetrating mind that uses them always freshly. That is one reason why Tovey is everywhere to be prized and why this collection of Essays and Lectures should be on every music-lover's shelves.

W. S. M.

*Wagner Nights.* By Ernest Newman. pp. 767. (Putnam, London, 1949.) 35s.

This valuable book is at once a companion volume to the author's 'Opera Nights' and a supplement to his incomparable 'Life of Wagner'. Expositive rather than critical, it is still not quite the book we may hope for to round off Mr. Newman's life-work on behalf of his hero. It is, in point of fact, less critical than his 'Study of Wagner' of more than fifty years ago. Like Tovey, Mr. Newman has seen his duty as that of counsel for the defence. But a word more on such lines and we shall seem ungrateful, seeing the extraordinary interest of 'Wagner Nights', its profusion of out-of-the-way information and the mastery of the style in



the presentation of a matter endlessly involved. Many are the guides to the opera-goer venturing into the Wagnerian labyrinth, but no other is at once so lucid and so knowledgeable. The superior interest, however, lies in the introductions to the several works, introductions that abound in information otherwise inaccessible to the English reader and nowhere else available between one pair of covers.

The principal example is the complex history of the composition of 'The Ring'. Everyone knows that 'Siegfried's Death' was the first of the 'Ring' dramas to be drafted, and that the tetralogy developed backwards; but it is less commonly realized that before the writing of the libretto of 'Siegfried's Death' the whole story from the rape of the gold (and even before) not only was in the composer's head but had actually been set down in black and white in a synopsis dated October 4th 1848. In his discussion of the modification of Wagner's philosophy in the course of the composition Newman the critic emerges from time to time, allowing, for instance, that the humanizing, as we now know him in 'Rhinegold', of an originally impersonal Wotan "deprives, for a while, the general scheme of the 'Ring' drama of some of the ethical loftiness of the original plan" and that "something of the first grandeur and the high ethical impulse that brought it into the great company of the Greek dramatists has gone out of it". In the 'Mastersingers' chapter Mr. Newman is of the opinion that Sachs's final address, with its Nurembergish self-glorification and denunciation of "trivial" foreign art, were better away. It appears that this was Wagner's own view—but not Cosima's. The composer gave in, against his better judgment, to his strong-minded Franco-Hungarian wife, who had adopted German chauvinism with the zeal of a convert.

Several pages, in the introduction to 'The Flying Dutchman,' are devoted to the Heine question; and here we must confess to an impression of special pleading—pleading made on behalf both of Wagner and of Mr. Newman himself. In the first volume (1933) of our author's Wagner biography one was struck by the omission of any mention of Wagner's indebtedness to Heine for an all-important element in the 'Dutchman', namely, Senta's redemptive self-sacrifice—the more so, since it had been acknowledged by Wagner himself in the 'Autobiographical Sketch' of 1843 ("Heine's truly dramatic treatment—his own invention—of the redemption of this Ahasuerus of the sea gave me all I needed to utilize the legend for an opera subject"). True, many years later (1871) Wagner modified the acknowledgement, and in 'Mein Leben' made none at all. But by that time Wagner saw many things differently. Moreover, he was deeply under Cosima's influence; and there is every ground for supposing she had the least possible tenderness for Heine. Certainly her father detested him—and for good reasons. Heine was doubtless a rascal. But give the devil his due! He blackmailed Meyerbeer and seems to have tried the same game on Liszt. But Mr. Newman's new suggestions (i) that the redeeming woman was, after all, not Heine's invention but was taken over by him from some unknown 'Dutchman' play of the period, and (ii) that Heine demanded of Wagner some monetary compensation for the use of an idea that was not Heine's at all—these suggestions seem flimsy. To account for Wagner's change of tone it is surely enough to refer to the attitude he took up in 'Judaism in

Music' (1850). Mr. Newman does not agree that this is an adequate explanation; but he is really the last man to entertain illusions about a scrupulously consistent, fair-dealing Wagner.

Would the Nuremberg Mastersingers have blackballed Shakespeare? Mr. Newman says, Yes. On the strength of an alleged archaism ("bin" for the sake of a rhyme to "begin," in "Hark, hark, the lark"). But the reader has only to open his First Folio, our only authority for the text of 'Cymbeline', to see that the line runs, "With every thing that pretty is", and not "pretty bin". Spenser uses "bin" for "is"—not Shakespeare.

R. C.

*Der Charakter der Tonarten.* By Paul Mies. (Staufen-Verlag, Köln & Crefeld, 1948.)

The vexed problem of key colour or expression has been cluttered up with contributions to its vast literature of an appalling amateurishness and futility. Paul Mies at least tackles it with scientific exactness and objectivity, his main effort being devoted to analysing statistically a primarily limited but sufficiently rich amount of material, not by arbitrary selection of items but in its completeness. In addition, he tries to solve the problem by taking not only the key but also time and speed into consideration. This part of his book—an analysis of certain types of expression as they appear in different keys—is by far the most interesting, though it remains debatable whether there is any sense in including, besides Bach's 'Forty-Eight' and the complete works of Beethoven and Brahms, such third-rate composers as J. C. F. Fischer, Moscheles, Klengel, and Heller, whose work, after all, is but a reflection of a reflection. This rather confuses the issue without adding anything of importance. If the final results of Dr. Mies's efforts seem to be less than modest (almost everywhere he has to admit considerable divergencies of key-characters with different styles and composers), this is due to his lack of a positive, rational approach to the basic contradiction of the whole idea of a primary key-character, residing in the fact that every musician definitely feels that keys do have specific colours, and the opposed fact that the pitch has shifted considerably during the last few centuries, with the result that when Bach wrote in C major the actual sound in his time must have been much nearer to what we to-day regard as B major.

I venture to offer two explanations which, in conjunction, should help towards a solution. One is based upon material peculiarities of the most important executive organs of music during the last three centuries, viz. the keyboard and the string instrument, the results of which are largely concurring. Strike a common chord in C major and one in F sharp major, and you will do it with a noticeable difference of touch. The elevated position of the black keys results in one's using rarely the same bluntness and vigour in striking them as one applies to the white keys. And you will notice that a passage in C major will rather stimulate a brilliant, "objective" non-legato of elastically jumping fingers, whereas the same passage, played, say, in B major or in D flat, will rather invite an expressive legato, thanks to the combination of white and black keys and the much easier action of the thumb. In the string ensemble a similarly "objective", insensitive element inheres in the use of the open strings, c, d, e, g, a, which coincide with five of the seven white keys of

the piano. The peculiar way in which white keys, or open strings, are combined in different tonalities, offers an explanation for a development of certain characters of expression connected with them—independent of the actual pitch.

The most decisive fact, however, in the development of such characters—and this is the second of my explanations—is what I call the unconscious heritage. Dr. Mies mentions a certain type of a solemn, slow E flat, which he regards as a specific feature of Neapolitan opera in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, without realizing that he has put his fingers on the decisive spot: practically all key characters are of the same origin, and are based on the same phenomenon, which one may as well call the tradition of style. At a period of a more individualistic art, the place of a community of ideals and idioms, called style, is taken by the individual influence of one composer upon another. If a nineteenth-century composer sets out to write an heroic symphony, would he not be tempted to do so in E flat, as Richard Strauss actually did in his 'Heldenleben'? Would this, then, justify the assumption that the heroic character is immanent in this key? Obviously not; it would merely mean that the composer was, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by the archetype of an heroic piece of music, Beethoven's 'Eroica'.

As the most overwhelming influence in all the music of the nineteenth century, Beethoven is probably the most decisive factor in our general conception of key characters, or key idiosyncrasies. Just as colour in visual impressions, so the key plays an extraordinary part in musical ones, and is always liable to evoke memories or subconscious associations. Hence the affinity of works written in the same key, almost inevitable within the works of a composer, and frequent enough elsewhere as a result of his influence, if he has any. It can hardly be doubted that identity of key in two compositions of a striking similarity of character or of thematic or harmonic detail points to such direct influences. Young Schubert all but reproduces the minuet of Mozart's Symphony in G minor, when in his 5th Symphony he happens to write a minuet in the same key. The majestic opening of Wagner's 'Mastersingers' undoubtedly reflects a possibly long-forgotten impression of No. 1 of Beethoven's 'Diabelli' Variations. The unconventional, ferocious conclusion of the Scherzo in Brahms's pianoforte Quintet, D $\flat$ -C (no such final clause happens anywhere else in Brahms's complete works) is certainly a reminiscence of the conclusion of Schubert's string Quintet, on the same two notes. In such cases the composer's memory has played a trick with his ever-watchful mind. Whenever he is conscious of following a model he will anxiously avoid such coincidences. So does Beethoven when in his Quintet for pianoforte and wind instruments, Op. 16, he exactly remodels Mozart's quintet for the same combination. So does Schubert when in his Octet he conscientiously follows every formal detail of Beethoven's Septet, but quite in his own, most original way.

One might even measure a composer's originality by the frequency of peculiar, fascinating characters of invention in his music, almost inevitably tied to certain corresponding keys. In this respect, Bach is richer than Handel, Mozart richer than Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert

richer than Brahms. As to Beethoven's grand "heroic" E flat, mentioned before, it was probably his own original creation. But his equally impressive, pathetic, Promethean C minor, as well as his tragic, terrific inventions in D minor, can be traced to Mozart's most fascinating inventions in these keys (pianoforte Concerto and Sonata & Fantasia in C minor, Adagio & Fugue for strings in the same key; pianoforte Concerto and string Quartet in D minor, 'Don Giovanni', Requiem Mass). And the latest and greatest of Beethoven's fateful tragedies in D minor, the first movement of his ninth Symphony, found its continuation as a key character in such disparate descendants as Schubert's string Quartet 'Death and the Maiden', Brahms's pianoforte Concerto in D minor, Wagner's 'Flying Dutchman' and Bruckner's third and ninth Symphonies. Its primary source, however, is probably the opening of Gluck's 'Alceste', where it appears already with its fullest, most emphatic meaning, the influence of which is unmistakable in Mozart's 'Idomeneo', a testimony to the unforgettable impression it made upon him.

Such facts explain the fascination of key characters as a phenomenon, and they explain why it is hopeless to try to pin them down as common denominators. Dr. Mies's work corroborates this, at least in a negative sense. His method of approaching a question of style or technique in an objective manner, by examining the material statistically, would have much to recommend it, if applied to a suitable subject.

H. G.

*Aspects de Chopin.* By Alfred Cortot. pp. 324. (Albin Michel, Paris, 1949.) Fr. 360.

Cortot has, this time, little or nothing to say of the music. To write seriously on other aspects of Chopin something more is necessary than the average layman's information on the subjects of tuberculosis and abnormal psychology. On psychology Cortot appears to be no more than ordinarily informed and on tuberculosis rather less. How can it be true that Chopin was consumptive from the age of twenty-one (p. 15 and elsewhere)? If that were so, how did he live to be thirty-nine and in those eighteen years endow the world with masterpiece upon masterpiece? There is an authoritative study of the subject: 'Chopin and his Fourteen Doctors', by Keith L. Barry (Sydney, 1934). Dr. Barry—both a musical and a medical graduate—rejects the theory that Chopin was foredoomed to an early death. What strikes him is the evidence of Chopin's "iron constitution" and "splendid vitality". The young Chopin was no doubt neurotic but was not tuberculous. The expedition to Majorca in 1838, when he was twenty-eight, sowed the disastrous seed. Dr. Barry diagnoses Chopin's illness then as bronchitis or pneumonia. Whatever it was, it nearly killed him; and symptoms of pulmonary tuberculosis appeared early in 1839, on his way back to France. He recovered, but should from that time have led a watched and warded life. His way, however, in the following years, of fighting the tubercle bacillus was to teach all day and compose at night, in Dr. Barry's words,

working up to 18 hours and more a day, having scrappy and infrequent meals, doing without fresh air and exercise, sleeping a disgracefully small number of hours and, in fact, doing everything possible to invite the attention of bacterial enemies.

Yet even so he seems to have recovered completely from an attack of influenza in 1845. Barry can speak of Chopin's "splendid vitality" so late as 1848. He sums up as follows:

On the evidence I submit that Chopin only suffered from tuberculosis as a sequel to badly nursed, untreated pneumonia. In fact, there is every reason to think that he had an exceptionally strong constitution, which enabled him to fight any disease with exceptional vigour. His hæmorrhages started 10 years before his death, and there is every reason to believe that the disease was entirely arrested, and that he would have lived many years longer, with proper rest, care and diet.

Chopin's neurosis is quite a different story. "He was", says Barry, "obviously what we call 'neurotic'. It is known that he was passionately devoted to his mother; and who knows but that his love for George Sand, a woman much older than he was in ways as well as years, was an example of the mother-fixation theory of attraction?"

Cortot's long chapter on Chopin's character (a third of his book) has the merit of considering respectfully but honestly the sombre and even antipathetic side of the great artist, whom to represent merely as a charmer is a feeble simplification. A contemporary said of him, "*Il se prête parfois, mais ne se donne jamais*". Chopin's heart was indeed the strangest of organs. Coming to Paris in 1831, he left it behind in Poland with his mother, his sisters and the friends of his adolescence. In Paris there was a share of it only for some of his compatriots in exile, with little for the rest of the world but profound indifference beneath an exquisitely polite surface. Cortot is excellent in his sketch of Chopin's relations with two of his best French friends, Delacroix and the violoncellist Franchomme, to whom he lent himself without ever giving. George Sand has the most penetrating remark of all: "He could or would understand nothing but what was identical with himself". Chopin was aware of his lack of ordinary humanity, comparing himself to a noxious mushroom that poisons him who tastes of it.

From one so well aware as Cortot of this aspect of Chopin it is disappointing to get yet another account of Chopin's visit to England and Scotland in 1848, with the usual tale (hackneyed *ad nauseam*) of the unhappy man's grievances and sarcastic complaints—all taken at their face-value. Mortally sick and disappointed with life, Chopin commands our sympathy; but that is no reason for justifying his ingratitude for the kind hospitality he received here. The thanks Jane Stirling and her sisters get from this Chopinist, as from so many before him, is acceptance of the gossip that Miss Stirling was setting her cap at Chopin—an obviously dying man! Documentary proof would be needed to persuade us into believing anything so unlikely; and there is none. But Cortot (p. 288) accepts that Miss Stirling proposed marriage; and hence, he suggests, Chopin's hasty departure from Scotland in October, 1848. The book gives an account of two Chopin portraits in the author's collection, one being the interesting one, ascribed to Luigi Rubio, which is reproduced in Arthur Hedley's 'Chopin' (1947). On p. 129 Chopin is sent on a holiday to Siberia (presumably Silesia). The Hopetoun Rooms at Edinburgh become "Capetown", and Lord Torphichen "Tirpicher."

R. C.



*Keyboard Music from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the Baroque.* By Gerald Staes Bedbrook. pp. 170. (Macmillan, London, 1949.) 21s.

The revival of interest in the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is ceasing to be a matter that concerns specialists only. Nonetheless appreciation is still for most people unbalanced, for the legend persists that instrumental music is a comparatively late development, and that its technique before the seventeenth century was immature and tentative. If there is one way more than another whereby the uninitiated can get to know the "feel" of the music it is through its keyboard literature, which he can play for himself. Relatively cheap and accurate editions are needed badly, and they are coming. Desirable, too, was a book giving a survey of the whole field of early keyboard music, with a comprehensive bibliography.

Mr. Bedbrook does not go as far towards fulfilling the need as one had hoped. He has the virtue of enthusiasm, so that it is unlikely anyone could read his book without wanting to know the music at first hand. Enthusiasm, however, needs to be tempered by wisdom; and while Mr. Bedbrook is not afraid to pass judgments, these are too arbitrary to enable the reader to see so vast a period of musical history in perspective. Thus the book falls between two stools. A certain naivety will repel those who already know something about the subjects (phrases such as "destined to live for ever in the mind of man" bring no blush to his cheek). On the other hand, the book cannot be unequivocally recommended to those who know little or nothing about the music, for the account it gives of the evolution of keyboard traditions seems in some ways misleading.

The most damaging bias the book suffers from is Mr. Bedbrook's partiality for the Renaissance Italians. Many of us share his enthusiasm for the Gabriellis, Merulo and Frescobaldi. These men are fine composers; but they are not so much finer than Bull and Gibbons as to deserve an extensive chapter as compared with half a page. Nor is the significance of Titelouze—that most celestially devotional of early baroque keyboard composers—adequately assessed in half a line's honourable mention. I think a case could be made out that all these composers—Bull, Gibbons and Titelouze—are greater men than the admirable Frescobaldi; just as, to look farther back in the English tradition, I think Mr. Bedbrook grievously under-estimates the significance of Redford, while of Alwood he makes no mention at all.

The relative importance of composers involves, of course, the question of taste, and if I object to some of Mr. Bedbrook's emphases I have no doubt that he would object to some of mine. What I am criticizing is not his particular opinions but his distortion of the perspective. The suspicion arises that he likes the Italians best because he knows them best. The variety and scope of the English virginalists' work are most inadequately treated. The reference to Bull's Washington (*sic*) variations, occurring in both text and index, may perhaps be pardoned as a typographical slip; but no account of the English keyboard school can be taken seriously that includes no mention of Bull's greatest works, the late organ fantasias and such pieces as the tremendous A minor 'In Nomine'. Byrd's charming but unimportant 'Sellingier's Round' gets a paragraph, while there is no mention of Farnaby's harmonically fascinating fantasias. Of Farnaby



Mr. Bedbrook remarks that, although in date he comes between Byrd and Bull, "his musicianship is quite up to that of Bull's period". Why on earth shouldn't it be? This is an odd comment to occur in a book ostensibly devoted to the resuscitation of "old" music. The French school, though it is admittedly, apart from Titelouze, less important, is also skimpily treated; and if there is to be detailed treatment of Frescobaldi, who did not die until 1643, why not also of the magnificent Spanish successors to Cabezón, such as Cabanilles?

Despite these strictures the book has value, so long as one does not take it seriously as a survey of the whole period. With the qualification suggested above, the study of Frescobaldi is good, apart from a few phrases so vaguely eulogistic as to be meaningless. The introduction to Cavazzoni is interesting, and the comparison between Hofhaimer and Schlick both sensitive and convincing. The account of *Ricercare* and *Fantasia* technique is lucid, though in speaking of Giovanni Gabrieli's anticipation of sonata style Mr. Bedbrook does not explain whether he means the baroque sonata or the "dualistic" sonata of the eighteenth century. An account of contemporary conventions of fingering forms a useful appendix but is rather perfunctory. Most of the more important Italian composers are (significantly) provided with a comprehensive list of works in contemporary editions; and there is a useful bibliography of modern editions and historical works. (But the important volume of Bull's *Pavanes* and *Galliards* published by the Glyn Press is not included.) The book is handsomely produced, with some charming illustrations.

W. H. M.

*Harmony.* By Walter Piston. (Gollancz, London, 1950.) 15s.

When a composer of the standing of Walter Piston writes a text book on Harmony it is bound to be of exceptional interest to musicians and teachers alike. This book has an added claim upon our attention. Mr. Piston is Professor of Music at Harvard, and the book, we are told, was first published in 1941, and "sold no fewer than 26,380 copies during 1948", half of these to colleges including more than 100 "adoptions" at Universities, &c. It may therefore claim to represent something of the approved trend of academic instruction in the subject in the U.S.A. "It is the aim of this book", according to the jacket cover, "to present as concisely as possible the harmonic materials commonly used by composers and the way these materials have been used". For this purpose Mr. Piston takes the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the period of "common practice" in musical composition, and adds, rather optimistically, "during that time there is surprisingly little change in the harmonic materials used and in the manner of their use".

The good points of the book are at once apparent. There is a certain freshness of approach, unconcerned with the more stereotyped methods of traditional instruction. The lay-out is clear and methodical, and the illustrations from actual music are copious, even though they are restricted in range. From a more technical point of view, it is good to find Mr. Piston in the main discarding acoustical pseudo-science and insisting upon the contrapuntal origin of harmony. The chapter on Harmonic Rhythm, also, has many good things in it. This is an aspect of harmony which has been much neglected in the past; it is, in fact, one

of the most vital factors in the study of the subject. The chapter which follows, "The Harmonic Structure of the Phrase", carries on the good work and is, for the most part, excellent so far as it goes.

If the remainder of this review is devoted to criticism, it must not be thought that the good points have been undervalued. But from a teaching point of view the book has many shortcomings. Some of the most important things are passed over with scarcely a word—for example, the problems of texture and spacing and the lay-out of parts and the essential differences of the various media for which the music is conceived. The system of chord classification is terribly complicated. Such statements as "Add to these the nondominant forms  $II_7$  and  $VI_7$ , and the dominant of the lowered second degree ( $V_9$  of  $N_6$ ) and we have twelve interpretations for the one chord" sound more like passages from a book on statistical method than from one on music. By far the most disappointing thing, from the teaching aspect, is the dullness of the "exercises". The old method of relying a great deal on figured basses is still far too much in evidence. The melodies and basses seem for the most part to be dreary and mechanical, and have little in them to fire the student's imagination or musicianship.

From the theorist's point of view there is a considerable amount of questionable matter. The principle of "Secondary Dominants", for example, as employed here, seems unnecessarily complicated, and its validity by no means proven. It looks like an endeavour to make a compromise between Schenker's theories of tonality and those of tradition. It is all very well to regard the supertonic chromatic chord as the dominant of the dominant (V of V) when it resolves on dominant harmony; but when it resolves on some other chord (for example, the tonic) the applied dominant function loses its pertinence. The next step further complicates matters: "Any degree of the scale may be preceded by its own dominant harmony without weakening the fundamental tonality". From this the theory of "secondary dominants" is extended to cover all degrees of the scale save the leading note. One result is that the tonic chord (I) becomes the dominant of the sub-dominant (V of IV). Mr. Piston goes on to state that "far from weakening the tonality, the secondary dominants can be a distinct aid in strengthening it". Surely chromatic notes foreign to the diatonic scale in being must in some measure weaken the tonality, and even more so the robbing of the chord I of its tonic function. The process is pushed even farther; for example, the Neapolitan sixth, one of the few chromatic chords classed as non-dominant, is duly provided with a secondary dominant, and later the system is applied to secondary subdominants. The scheme seems to have endless possibilities. If secondary subdominants, why not secondary dominants of secondary subdominants?

The real problems of tonality and modulation seem to be left untried. The definition of tonality is vague and inadequate: "Tonality is the organized relationship of tones in music. This relationship, as far as common practice of composers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is concerned, implies a central tone with all other tones supporting it or tending towards it, in one way or another."

There are many other technical matters upon which a series of friendly arguments with Mr. Piston might be based. Why should the

interpretation of the identity of discords depend on the "voice-leading" of the components in the harmonic age? Why should the progression V<sub>7</sub>-VI be called an irregular resolution of the dominant seventh? How far can the "principle of doubling tonal degrees in preference to modal degrees" be substantiated? But whether one agrees with Mr. Piston's contentions and methods or not, his book is stimulating and thought-provoking, especially in these technical matters. H. K. A.

*Carmen*. By Prosper Mérimée. Translated by Lady Mary Loyd; with a Study of the Opera of the Same Name, by Winton Dean. pp. 124. (London: The Folio Society, 1949.) 12s. 6d.

This is a pretty book, pleasantly printed and embellished with drawings by Goya. The translation, which dates from before the 1914-18 war, does less than justice to Mérimée's deceptively simple and colloquial prose. No style is more difficult to reproduce in translation, though Mérimée's nonchalance and under-statement were probably copied from English models and form—a literary parallel to the social and sartorial vogue of the English dandy. No detail is too small for the dandy's attention, whether he be of the literary or the sartorial variety; and it is by her inattention to detail that the translator repeatedly fails to obtain an effect corresponding to Mérimée's. Archaic expressions, such as "quoth he" or "hark ye", are as foreign to this style as vulgar neologisms ("What a time it is since I've had a smoke!"), and only slightly less offensive than the ageless jargon in which *Carmen* can address José with "Pshaw! my boy!") The gypsy and the Spanish words and phrases in Mérimée's text complicate still further the business of translation, but it is no solution to render "mon officier" by "oficial mio", merely an *obscurum per obscurius* for English readers. Plays upon words, always the despair of the translator, are simply ignored here, and *Carmen*'s quip about "larmes de dragon" appears meaningless. All these faults of detail do not make Lady Mary Loyd's translation unreadable or even generally offensive, except to those who know the exact cut and style of the original. To render Mérimée's meaning in simple English is often easy; but the fine points of mood, flavour and balance are those which give this style its peculiar distinction and have in this case signally defeated the translator.

Winton Dean makes a detailed comparison between the original story by Mérimée and the libretto produced for Bizet by Henry Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy. He shows the dramatic necessity for many of their alterations, additions and omissions; and insists on the importance of using Bizet's spoken dialogue, which should by now have replaced Guiraud's recitatives in all reputable productions. It was the novelty and daring of the libretto that was the chief reason for 'Carmen's' initial failure, and we are in no position to criticize the public of 1875 until we see and hear the work as they saw and heard it. Mr. Dean makes very high claims for 'Carmen', both musical and dramatic, and he can in almost every case prove his point by reference to the score. Occasionally he goes too far, as when he calls the *Habañera* "one of the most remarkable revelations of character ever entrusted to a prima donna"; but generally he avoids such vague panegyric and confines himself to indisputable facts, many of which will surprise the average listener and

perhaps even those who think they know the beauties of 'Carmen' to perfection. On p. 115 a meaningless Gallicism ("the whirling exhilaration of the 'Bohemian' song") has unaccountably strayed into an essay which is always terse and vigorous in style, though sometimes inclined unduly to favour the colloquial idiom. M. C.

*The Concerto.* By John Culshaw. (London: Parrish, 1950.) 7s. 6d.

How difficult it is to write a successful essay of less than 20,000 words on one of the chief musical forms only those who have attempted it can know. The whole field must be covered, and this can only be done, in such conditions, rather meagrely. The problem, then, is chiefly one of proportion and then of avoiding at least the appearance of a catalogue. Mr. Culshaw's essay starts with serious, if not exactly scholarly, intentions, but both his treatment and his style deteriorate, until he finally descends to journalistic jocularly. Thus his hardest thinking comes early in the essay, as where he tries to explain and account for the peculiar excellence of Mozart's piano concertos. His assumption that his readers will consider these as no more than pretty shows that he has surely miscalculated his audience; and his advice "to remember that the first movement of any Mozart concerto . . . was written in a certain form because that form . . . was dictated by the material" will neither find favour with connoisseurs nor enlighten the groundlings. In fact, the whole essay suffers from our author's failure to envisage his public. Those who are interested in his technical analyses and historical judgments will find the chronicling of personal history (as in the quite disproportionate passage on Schumann's piano concerto) and his whole chapter entitled 'Voyages and Conflagrations' tedious. These certainly take up space that he can ill afford. The better informed, to whom he should surely have addressed himself, will resent being told that "Brahms's motives were uncommonly sensible" and that "the music of Ravel's (D major) concerto would be no less excellent if the work had been written for the left foot". They will also be curious to know more of the close relationship between the violin concertos of Mendelssohn and Sibelius. To write of so great a subject as the concerto requires not only learning but also humility. Only humility will ensure the tone, the "angle of approach" suitable for such a task. Such a tone is lacking in this essay, and its absence makes the reader less disposed to pardon snap judgments and careless writing. M. C.

*The Songs of Henri Duparc.* By Sydney Northcote. pp. 122. (Dobson, London, 1949.) 8s. 6d.

Of all Franck's pupils Duparc was probably the most gifted. But he was also the least productive, and has consequently escaped the critical attention he deserves. With the exception of Charles Oulmont's study disguised under the unfortunate title, 'Musique de l'amour,' this appears to be the first monograph devoted to him in any language. Dr. Northcote discusses in detail each of the fourteen surviving songs ('Le Galop', early suppressed by the composer, was re-issued by Durand in 1948), with the help of generous musical quotations, and he prefixes a general introduction to the contemporary background and a useful chapter on the Parnassian poets, whose preoccupation with form and technique was an

element of importance in the development of French song. Three other published compositions are discussed in a short epilogue.

Usefulness, indeed, is the chief quality of this book. It is clear in analysis and full of practical advice to singers. There is an English version of each song, and even a list of errors in the published score of the orchestral nocturne 'Aux Etoiles'. The æsthetic side is less satisfactory. Dr. Northcote seems more interested in what the singer and accompanist should bring to the songs than in what the songs can bring to the audience. He extends the mantle of his praise with too little discrimination over all of them, the failures as well as the masterpieces. The introductory sketch of the period, though on the whole sound and readable, contains some dark sayings. It is odd to find "the striking individuality of Saint-Saëns, Chabrier and Lalo" ranked among the important signposts on the road to the summits of French song. Chabrier and Saint-Saëns can hardly be bracketed in any respect, least of all in individuality. And the rhetorical (or at least unanswered) question, "Where would Yradier figure in Bizet's musico-family tree?", can be disposed of in a single word. On the other hand, Dr. Northcote rightly emphasizes the effect on French song and its interpretation of the absence of stresses in the French language, and makes a revealing comparison between the work of Fauré and Duparc, in whom the differences are more marked than the resemblances. Whereas Fauré did not even score many of his own orchestral works, Duparc designed two of his songs for orchestral accompaniment and later scored five others, some of which sound more convincing in this version. His chromaticism too was generally an emotional intensification of the poem; with Fauré it was an attitude of mind. We are reminded that Franck thought Duparc's temperament "marvellously suited to the theatre", and that the second half of 'La Vie antérieure' was based on material from the unfinished opera 'Roussalka'.

Dr. Northcote is unable to throw any light on the cause of the mysterious mental illness that reduced Duparc to silence when he still had nearly fifty years to live. But he suggests a connection with that abnormal self-criticism which was continually modifying completed works and ended by destroying the greater part of Duparc's total output. And this hint of obsessional neurosis is reinforced by interesting passages quoted here from the composer's letters and other recorded details. He used special nibs for writing certain notes. He could not endure the slightest noise when composing. Once he convinced himself over a period of weeks that a bird came to his window at a certain time every morning in order to disturb him, yet he refused to change his room for fear of killing his inspiration. Finally he was reduced to the tragic condition described in a letter of about 1900: "You will not be adding to the sorrow which I suffer in being absolutely unable to work. You can have no idea of my lack of lucidity. I have kept only enough to know that I have no more."

The book is marred by carelessness in the matter of French accents, a commodity which there seems no special cause to ration. Pierre de Bréville's name is mentioned dozens of times, yet never with the accent, and many other proper names are similarly denuded. The bibliography includes a number of books which, though quoted in the text, have little bearing on Duparc or his work, but omits several that might have been



used with advantage. Calvocoressi, for instance, not only wrote about Duparc but also knew him personally; and there is more information to be found in French periodicals. The article on 'Bizet and Wagner' in an earlier number of 'Music & Letters', mentioned in the second footnote on p. 21, is not by John Bourke but by John W. Klein. W. D.

*The Arts Enquiry: Music.* A Report on Musical Life in England sponsored by the Dartington Hall Trustees. pp. 224. (Political and Economic Planning; 16, Queen Anne's Gate; 1949.) 15s.

In times to come students of English musical history may well turn to this report much as historians now turn to old John Stow's 'Survey' for information about Elizabethan London. For it is thronged with a vast and well-ordered multitude of facts presented in a clear, readable manner, which bears testimony to the excellence of the general lines laid down for it by the advisory group of experts under their chairman, David Webster, and to the practical work carried out by Peter Cox, Arts Administrator at Dartington Hall, and Peter Crosley-Holland.

The report is, however, addressed to the Present, which it surveys with remarkable thoroughness. Though some changes have occurred since it was compiled the general picture remains comprehensively correct. The chapters on orchestral music and opera are especially enlightening, and leave one marvelling not so much that certain shortcomings exist as that so many people should have been found with the courage, patience and faith to carry on so many great enterprises in the face of such difficulties. Reading of the numerous grants and guarantees given now by the Exchequer and the Arts Council to orchestras, opera and educational institutions almost as a matter of course, it is strange to recall how fiercely Snowden's small subsidy to opera was resented in 1930. In a final chapter the report sums up and issues warnings and recommendations, often far-sighted, towards making a better future for English music.

But the eyes that are so clear-sighted when scanning the future are strangely near-sighted over the past. Throughout the report there is a persistent implication that the real renaissance of English music only began in the present century, which is misleading. There are also inaccuracies and superficial judgments. Such a sentence as the following fairly bristles with them: "Mendelssohn, who had been invited to England by the Prince Consort, began reviving music of the past, which up till then had been rarely performed. This practice gave musical life an added richness, but it led to the creation of what is known today as the 'classical' repertory as distinct from the much less popular contemporary or modern music."

In point of fact Mendelssohn first came here in 1829 at the wish of his father: Prince Albert was first brought to England by *his* father in 1836. It was for Berlin, not London, that Mendelssohn revived Bach's 'St. Matthew Passion'. What Mendelssohn did here was to introduce contemporary music, mainly his own. The Philharmonic Society itself had been the leading advocate of Beethoven in England. Samuel Wesley and T. A. Walmisley were the champions of Bach, and it was an amateur, Arthur D. Coleridge, who got together a choir in 1875 to give the first performance of Bach's B minor Mass in England. As for the prejudice against modern music, it certainly existed in 1776 when the Ancient



Concerts were founded, for no works might be performed at them which were not at least twenty years old. The concerts ran until 1848.

Even in matters of spelling this historical account is not irreproachable. Sir August Manns is called Augustus Manns and Dame Ethel Smyth is given an e—"Smythe". Heavens, how annoyed she would have been! It is a pity that where such pains have been taken over English music of to-day similar care should not have been bestowed on the past

M. M. S.

*Hans Pfitzner und der geniale Mensch.* By Julius Bahle. pp. 138. (Curt Weller Verlag, Konstanz, 1949.)

The well-read author of 'Eingebung und Tat im musikalischen Schaffen' (Leipzig, 1939) here produces an opusculum partly philosophic and partly polemical. The philosopher sets out to deny to merely romantic talent (that of Tennyson's "wild poet without a conscience or an aim") the title of genius. Free now to speak his mind, after certain vicissitudes in Hitler's Germany, he denounces faith in the creative omnipotence of the unconscious, and such heresies as mystical nationalism. The artist whose works are not preoccupied by a high humanism is, at the most, a talent, unworthy to share the title of genius with Bach and Beethoven, Schiller and Goethe. The second and more personal portion of the book consists of an argument relegating Hans Pfitzner, a darling of Hitlerian Germany, to the category of pseudo-genius. Dr. Bahle finds in Grillparzer a motto for his thesis: "Only from the combination of character and talent arises what we call genius." The poet, according to the romantic idea, is born, not made. According to the rationalist, he makes himself. Both views are imperfect. Quotations are now given from the sayings of men of genius to illustrate their conscious effort to transmute an innate talent into something higher and finer. Love is the word Michelangelo and Mozart seize upon for that which is to be added to artistry; Truth and Virtue are Beethoven's; the Quest of Truth is Lessing's; the Love of Truth, Goethe's. In a word, the supremely great men of the past realized that the cultivation of character was as necessary to their art as the instinctive aptitude.

Bahle now applies his principles to the unfortunate Pfitzner. Such of Pfitzner's music as we have heard in England makes such an expenditure of powder and shot look a little disproportionate. But Bahle has special reasons. He was involved, in 1935, in a newspaper controversy with Pfitzner, he then being a person of small importance, while the composer was basking in the favour of the ruling powers. Pfitzner shows up badly in this affair. It was a dirty trick to throw in his opponent's teeth the fact that one of his teachers had been a Jew. In 1935 that sort of thing might have serious consequences. Bahle left his post at Jena University and went into retirement. He now has his revenge in exposing the limitations of the musician's mind, his vulgar nationalism (Sachs's address at the end of 'The Mastersingers' was his watchword), his exaltation of the instinctive at the expense of the intellectual in art, the meagreness of his musical production—though Bahle ungrudgingly allows him an inborn talent—his bad faith as a controversialist, and the wonderful extravagances of his thurifers, such as Walter Abendroth and E. Valentin. At the end Pfitzner, disallowed

humanity, an adequate creative procedure and a developed mind, is refused admission to the rank of genius. This conclusion was arrived at here years ago, when Pfitzner's piano concerto and a few other pieces were given at Queen's Hall; but we are not ungrateful to Dr. Bahle for his demonstration. He has a happy gift of quotation. Grillparzer's three words for the European declension he foresaw—"Humanity, Nationality, Bestiality"—suggest that Grillparzer is not enough read. And who now reads Theodor Fontane? Yet Fontane said: "Oh, learn to think with the heart, learn to feel with the mind!" R. C.

*Musicians in Elysium.* By F. Bonavia. (Secker & Warburg, London, 1949.) 7s. 6d.

Most writers of Imaginary Conversations soon shed the pretence of reportage and use the artificial situation they have created as a peg on which to hang their own prejudices and theories. In these snippets of Elysian dialogue, Mr. Bonavia steers clear of most of the hazards. He sets out not to pontificate but to provoke. And even the occasional stiltedness of his dialogue fails to disguise the purely subjective critic in him. His likes and dislikes, supported by the wisdom of long experience, are clear enough; on the one hand, *inter alia*, Beethoven, Mozart, Elgar (bless him!), Verdi, Bach and (one suspects) "Anon"; on the other, Mendelssohn, Gounod, Liszt, Grieg, sentimentality, cleverness and virtuosity for its own sake. He slams the gates of Paradise in the faces of the modern school with a ruthless and unduly indiscriminate finality. It is perhaps strange that so much temperamental pique can survive in the mild Elysian climate. The place, in fact, seems to be sadly in need of a Musicians' Benevolent Society and also a Society for the Suppression of Berlioz. And is it not high time that Elysium and Earth mutually agreed to make up their minds about poor Brahms?

But Mr. Bonavia charmingly invites argument. His little book will stimulate many readers, annoy many and instruct all. One can imagine furtive reference to musical dictionaries to discover who George Onslow was, and some surprise at the fact that he provided the model for Schubert's C major Quintet. Mr. Bonavia's wit, wisdom and musical judgment are almost irreproachable. There is one lapse, however, in the dialogue between Mozart and Don Giovanni (where, incidentally, the latter's strictures on Mozart are a little unfair, for the distortions of time and fact were Da Ponte's doing). Listen to Don Ferruccio Giovanni:

"You [Mozart] make Don Ottavio into a charming, high-spirited lover. He was the most insufferable coxcomb I ever met."

Charming? High-spirited? Fie on you, Don Ferruccio! Don Ottavio is undoubtedly one of the two most futile characters in all opera—which is precisely what Da Ponte intended. (Mozart rubbed it in by making him sing his two lovely arias in front of the curtain.) If you doubt it, study his nerveless reaction to Donna Anna's account of her narrow escape from a fate worse than death at Don Giovanni's hands. But then! Mr. Bonavia has achieved his purpose and started an argument. In this cynical and pedantic age, his informed and lively book is doubly welcome; for of all music critics he is the least cynical and the least pedantic.

D. N. A.

*G. F. Haendel: Leben und Werk.* By A. E. Cherbuliez. (Otto Walter Verlag, Olten, 1949.)

The author, a lecturer at Zurich University, is a prolific writer of musical biographies. Adoption of the same structural principle as in his excellent 'J. S. Bach'—a deliberate merging, namely, of life and work, to avoid the traditional dualism of musical biographies—has served him less well in this more intricate case. While biographical details are treated with care the discussion of musical problems takes a back seat in this volume of nearly 400 pages, which is admirably produced and adorned with interesting portraits and facsimiles but with no music examples at all. This means that questions such as Handel's borrowings from Carissimi, Stradella and others, his habit of self-quotation and questions of execution and interpretation are rather cavalierly treated.

Some compensation is offered by the inclusion of synopses of the plots of all the operas—those stepchildren of the older biographers (but not so regarded by Streatfeild and Leichtentritt). The principal oratorios receive due consideration, but the bulk of Handel's instrumental output is only summarily discussed. In a readable introduction the author attempts a survey of the whole literature of his subject. Here he takes his cue rather too readily from German scholarship. It strikes us as strange for a Swiss of Gallic extraction to insist repeatedly upon Handel's allegedly close relation with the "Germanic cultural soul". Surely Handel is as much or as little a German as Orlandus Lassus is a Fleming. The decisive factor in both cases was that both chose to become Italian composers, once they had left their homeland for good. While the chapters dealing with Handel's early years and the then prevailing conditions of German music are sound those devoted to Handel's English period obviously lack familiarity with the English scene and with the culture of the country of Handel's choice. Tunbridge Wells becomes a seaside resort. The naturalized Frenchman Grabu is misspelt "Graber".

English Handelian literature has been largely neglected by our author who, though his preface is dated May 1949, nowhere refers to Sir Newman Flower's revised biography of 1947, to J. M. Coopersmith's edition of 'Messiah' of 1946, or to the recent books by Percy M. Young and W. C. Smith. Cherbuliez's preference for German sources is shown by the remarkable fact that in 1949 he recommends Taut's Handel bibliography of 1933 (*Deutsches Händeljahrbuch*), a work completely superseded by W. C. Smith's bibliography published as an appendix to the revision of Flower's book.

H. F. R.

*A Thing or Two about Music.* By Nicolas Slonimsky. pp. 305. (Allen, Towne & Heath, New York.)

"This", says the Apologia which opens proceedings, "is a browsing book intended for non-consecutive reading, and it was put together non-consecutively on non-consecutive days". There is, however, little of the non-sequitur about it. The material, mostly collected from newspapers and old musical magazines, is set out with a simple cunning that draws delighted readers along like pigeons on a singularly varied grain trail. Those intent on picking up grains of serious history will find themselves well rewarded by a number of strange things in the chapter headed: "Not to be found in authorized biographies!" There is that murder of

the violinist Leclair, for instance, which has been one of the unsolved mysteries in the musical dictionaries. Here all the evidence is given, and the startling conclusion arrived at that his wife, who was a fine engraver of music, stabbed him with one of the tools of her trade. Any halo of romance which may have hung about the early death of the symphonist Anton Filtz in 1760 vanishes when one reads that he died from indulging in his favourite dainty of cooked spiders.

People who prefer less macabre subjects will pounce upon the *bons mots*, the howlers and the anecdotes scattered lavishly throughout the book. Here is an answer to an examiner's question: "Beethoven wrote three symphonies: the First, the Fifth and the Ninth." A word of appreciation must go to the amusing line-drawings by Maggi Fiedler. As humorous as any is one of Corelli playing to a German virtuoso. Corelli's expression is inimitable, and all the funnier because, by an accident of printing, Corelli is depicted in reverse with his violin on his right shoulder. Decidedly this book is, "Pastime with good company."

M. M. S.

*Willem de Fesch (1687-1757 ?)*. By Fr. van den Bremt. pp. 350. (Palais des Académies, Brussels, 1949.)

Why, one asks in reading this book, has no Englishman ever made a study of this subject? Willem de Fesch spent most of his life in England, and a large proportion of his vocal music was written to English words (the rest to Italian or Latin) for performance here. This book fills in a number of lacunæ in our knowledge of the dates and activities of this by no means unimportant eighteenth-century composer. It also adds considerably to our knowledge of his period.

Dr. van den Bremt is the first to bring evidence of the exact date and place of de Fesch (or, as he often wrote his own name, Defesch). At any rate, he was baptized at St. Laurence's Church, Alkmaar, on August 26th 1687, and, since his parents seem to have been Roman Catholics, it is probable he was born on that day or the day before. The exact date of his death Dr. van den Bremt has not been able to ascertain. Beyond its descriptions of musical and social life in Holland, Belgium and England, and analyses and descriptions of de Fesch's compositions, the book is useful, with its list of compositions, whether or not extant, a bibliography, many musical examples, both thematic and in score, and eight well-produced photographs of manuscripts. Although de Fesch was unquestionably influenced of Vivaldi, Locatelli and Corelli, he was no mere epigone.

The author in his conclusion claims, on the grounds he has given in the general text, that de Fesch was "a man who knew what he wanted . . . and who dared to call new forms to life." It seems certain that he was the first to write violin duets and one of the first to write duets for cellos, while his two oratorios and his Pastoral Serenade were well in advance of their time, and many of the technical details of his chamber and orchestral music were new at the time. For this reason, as well as for the charm of some of his many lightly-conceived songs, de Fesch deserves more attention than he has received in recent times; and this book, commissioned and published by the Belgian Academy, should do much to arouse such attention.

H. A.

*School en Muziek in de Middeleeuwen.* By Jos Smits van Waesberghe. pp. 173. (U.M. Holland, Amsterdam, 1949.)

This is one of three short treatises which form popular supplements to a much more extensive work 'The Musical History of the Middle Ages', on which the author has been engaged for fifteen years or longer. The other two supplements are on Gregorian music and music and drama in the Middle Ages. Intended primarily for the use of teachers in secondary schools, it nevertheless displays considerable research and can be read with pleasure and profit by a much wider circle.

The starting point is the beginning of the twelfth century, though there is some preliminary history leading up to the main period. This was the great era of Church music, and naturally most of the matter deals with the teaching in the monastery schools and *scholae cantorum* of the cathedrals. Some of the author's comparisons between the early Roman period, the period subsequent to Gregory the Great, and our own days are full of suggestiveness. He devotes much space to the theory and practice of Guido d'Arezzo and his successors, and the diagrams illustrating these are useful. The book is lavishly illustrated with photographs of out-of-the-way manuscripts.

H. A.

## REVIEWS OF MUSIC

Berkeley, Lennox, *Stabat Mater*; for six solo voices and chamber orchestra. (Chester, London.) Full Score. 20s. Blow, John: *Begin the Song*; for S.A.T.B. soloists, chorus, strings and continuo; and *Salvator Mundi*; for five voices and organ continuo. (Hinrichsen, London.) Vocal scores. Handel: *Foundling Hospital Anthem*; for two solo voices and chorus, strings and two oboes. (Hinrichsen, London.) Vocal score. Mellers, Wilfrid: *The Song of Ruth*; Cantata for three solo voices, chorus and orchestra. (Lengnick, London.) Vocal score. 4s. 6d. Michaelides, Solon: *Crux Fidelis*; motet for S.A.T.B. (Gwynn Publishing Co., Llangollen.) 3d. Milhaud, Darius: *Quatrains Valaisans*; for S.A.T.B. (United Music Publishers, London.) 1s. 3d. Peters, J. V.: *Music, when soft voices die*; part-song for S.A.T.B. (Elkin, London.) 4d.

When one is faced with a pile of music of no compelling quality, the temptation may be great to take refuge in "style-criticism" and ignore aesthetics. With work of the quality of Berkeley's 'Stabat Mater', however, one need not hedge but roundly declare it beautiful, secure in the knowledge that the reader will understand the term, provided it is not explained. The orchestra consists of single wood-wind, horn, harp, percussion, string quartet and double bass. Only in the first and last of the ten numbers are all the resources used. The others consist of five solos, a duet and two pieces for vocal quartet, all scored exquisitely and many attaining a rare euphony, for all their characteristic harmony. The great poem gives many opportunities for pathetic vocal lines, but it also has pitfalls in its jingling rhythms and its static mood. Suffice it to say that one is never for a moment aware of these difficulties.

Blow's tercentenary has brought the usual reassessments but, mainly because of a lack of modern editions, not many performances. Watkins Shaw has edited the St. Cecilia Ode of 1684 and 'Salvator Mundi' from the original scores. Labouring under John Oldham's vague words, Blow is unable to work the miracles of illustration wrought by Purcell and Handel. But the work employs so much of the style loosely regarded as Purcellian that we realize that it is the latter's dramatic and melodic power which place him out of Blow's reach, for no finer harmony could be found than that of Blow's overture and opening chorus, or better organization than that of the Ritornello on a Ground which concludes "Hark how the wakened strings resound". Bottom D is asked of the bass soloist. The alto soloist should be a counter-tenor, both for the range of the part and for the timbre required as the upper voice of a duet. 'Salvator Mundi' is more familiar ground, and infinitely loftier. Not surprisingly, this edition has little need to differ from that of Terry for Novello. The organ chords are thinner, and a few carry more virile harmony. The wonderful plunge into B major at the climax is surely spoiled, however, if, as suggested here, the organ gives the whole chord, instead of the bass only, a beat before the voices enter.

As to its choruses, Handel's anthem is mainly drawn from Queen



Caroline's Funeral Anthem and 'Susanna'. After an opening solo, which is presumably preceded by an overture, the choir enters with the majestic Neapolitan progression which the Funeral Anthem gives to "She that was great". The audience would surely know the purpose of the performance when they heard the unison phrase, later delivered in long notes and poor grammar, "Blessed are they that considereth the poor and needy". There is not much solo work; and that little is somewhat perfunctory beside the choruses. The keyboard reduction, made by Hubert Langley, is neat and musical but in places a little thin. A few more middle notes are advisable if, as is highly likely, the part is taken literally.

A striking characteristic of Wilfrid Mellers's music is its coherence. Though he cannot always rely on a flow of compelling ideas, he has so mastered the arts of construction that he rarely fails to convince. The story of Ruth, shorn of the comical words which contributed to its predecessor's notoriety, is here arranged in four movements, the first a powerful description of empty-hearted sorrow, the second a charming pastoral called 'The Harvest Field'. The third describes the incident of the threshing-floor and the fourth, reverting first to the material of the first movement, develops into a song of triumph, possibly overstated but effectively laid out. 'Crux Fidelis' is noteworthy for some beautiful vocal lines which singers will enjoy. Inevitably with such a text, the sixteenth-century style exerts its influence. This is in some ways a pity, because it causes blameless sevenths and cadences to strike the ear as excrescences foreign to the style. The piece however shows a genuine feeling for vocal melody.

Milhaud's five short songs are full of imaginative colour and are, for their composer, remarkably free of stupid demands. The progressions of the third song seem rough-and-ready, but the others have a calculated and delicate grace. The words are given in French only and are presumably Rilke's own, for no translator is mentioned. A modest part-song should have space when it is at once so successful and simple and yet distinguished in harmony as this one by J. V. Peters. One may remark that "heaped" is an unsuitable word for an expansion, but this is a minor blemish.

Clifford, Hubert: *Serenade*; for String Orchestra. (Chester, London.)

Full Score. 20s. Frankel, Benjamin: *The Aftermath*; Song cycle for Tenor Voice, String Orchestra, Trumpet and Timpani. (Augener, London.) Full Score. 7s. 6d. Leigh, Walter: *Concertino*; for Harpsichord or Piano and String Orchestra. (Oxford University Press.) Full Score. 5s. Rawsthorne, Alan: *Concerto for String Orchestra*. (O.U.P.) Full Score. 10s. 6d. Szervánszky, Endre: *Serenade for String Orchestra*. Score. (Cserépfalvi, Budapest.)

Serenades by their title avow their intention to please, and rule criticisms of loose structure out of court. The two here noted are both successful in their different ways. Hubert Clifford writes in a diatonic and diffuse style influenced by English folk-song, yet enlivened with some taut harmonies and unexpected enharmonic modulations. The scoring in places looks fussy in its detail and there are some difficult semiquaver passages which may put it beyond the reach of amateur combinations. The work is in four movements.

The Hungarian work is marked by touches of Sibelian harmony and *ostinato*. Its interesting ideas are presented in a straightforward manner—straightforward, too, in the sense of having momentum. The composer loves the flattened seventh to such an extent that the charming minuet and trio which form the second movements have their key signatures modified accordingly. The slow third movement subtly gives the impression of improvisation while being highly organized. This work possibly never says more than at its first hearing, but that is the price of wearing its heart on its sleeve, a quality for which we often yearn.

'The Aftermath', a setting of words by Robert Nichols, is far from the traditional song-sequence. The words are given throughout in measured declamation over a skilful score of strings, trumpets and timpani. The general mood is one of loneliness, typified by the words, "All, all is lone; alone, and so am I". For five numbers the numbed poet haunts the sea-shore, all hope drained from him. At the last comes a stoic deliverance. This unity of despair weighs heavily on the work, but there is no gainsaying its musical effectiveness. The string writing is subtle and often difficult.

Walter Leigh's *Concertino* of 1934 already is deservedly popular, and its re-publication is welcome. The reasons for its popularity are clear. It is easy to play well, and its high spirits never induce an unnecessary note. It has a clarity and finish that Ravel would have approved.

Rawsthorne's concerto is no serenade. Indeed, its most obvious feature is the tension brought about not only by dissonances no less real for being mainly diatonic but also by the unremitting skill with which a minimum of material is developed into a large-scale fabric. The striking motto is heard, *Largo Maestoso*, in the first two bars, and is thereafter used not as a dramatic interruption but as a sinew which is rarely absent from the first movement. The slow movement is a powerful march which leads into the last movement. This begins *Allegro Piacetole*, with new material which is later combined in a splendidly sustained fugue with the motto. The whole work is one of Rawsthorne's finest constructions.

Delius, Frederick: *Twilight Fancies*. (O.U.P.) 2s. 6d. Dibdin, Charles: *Peggy Perkins*. (O.U.P.) 2s. 6d. Gibbs, C. Armstrong: *Hypochondriacus*. (Curwen, London.) 2s. 6d. Hopkins, Antony: *A melancholy Song*. (Chester, London.) 2s.

One cannot let the re-publication of Delius's most perfect song go by without notice. There is nothing twilit about Dibdin, whose 'Peggy Perkins' is a capital song with virile words. Gilbert and Sullivan would have been proud of it. Gerald Cockshott explains that he has added a new piano part to replace the period accompaniments given to the two publications of the song—the Alberti bass of 1790 and the repeated chords of 1842. He has tempered Dibdin's top B flat to our shorn singers, but "the original way of doing things is open to those who can and care to". 'Hypochondriacus' is suitably morose, with some rough-and-ready accents caused by insistence throughout on the 6-8 time which fits the splendid climax. However, good singers will know an effective song when they sing it; will see that the words are the making of the piece; and may even defy the composer's demand for the modern Latin pronunciation. Hopkins's short, sad tale fits soprano or alto voice. It is

charmingly told, mainly in 7-8 time, with the pianist's left hand to keep one on the rails.

Murrill, Herbert: *Carillon*. (O.U.P.) 3s. Reger, Max: *Toccata and Fugue*; and *Benedictus*. Op. 59. (Hinrichsen, London.)

There recently appeared, in a comment on organ recitals, the following: "In music, as in literature, we are threatened with a return to provincialism for sheer lack of copies of all but the greatest classics and the purely contemporary". One therefore welcomes the reappearance of some Reger pieces from Op. 59. Before the war German organists wondered at our enthusiasm for Karg-Elert and our coldness towards Reger. Karg-Elert has had his day, and the re-publication of Reger may show whether the pendulum will swing back. The *Toccata and Fugue* are less daunting than some. The *toccata* is exuberant and short and the notes are not difficult to play. The dynamics, however, have been conceived for an organ equipped with a general crescendo and diminuendo pedal. Possibly it is better in any case to avoid Reger's extremes. The *fugue* is dull; the usual louder-and-faster technique does not disguise the fact that most of the parts go nowhere in particular. The first two pages of the *Benedictus* have a ripe charm, and might well be played without the over-emphatic fugal section which follows and disturbs the balance of the piece.

Herbert Murrill has written a brilliant and festive short piece which contributes to the French *carillon-sortie* style a subtlety of rhythm and an occasional toughness of harmony *à la* Walton. It is an exhilarating piece to play, provided that one's pedal stops are prompt of speech.

Bach, C. P. E.: *Sonata in A minor*; for Flute Solo. (Fischer, New York.) Constant, Benjamin: *Trio for Oboe, Clarinet and Bassoon*. (Chester, London.) Score. 3s. 6d. Hopkins, Antony: *Partita in G minor for Solo Violin*. (Chester, London.) 3s. 6d. Dello Joio, Norman: *Variations and Capriccio*; for Violin and Piano. (Fischer, N.Y.) Rawsthorne, Alan: *Sonata for Cello and Piano*. (O.U.P.) 8s. 6d. Tate, Phyllis: *Sonata for Clarinet and Cello*. (O.U.P.) 6s. Wishart, Peter: *Cassation for Violin and Viola*. (O.U.P.) 6s.

The flute sonata is a proof that C. P. E. Bach inherited his father's mastery of linear harmony. The music is couched in terms of the first half of the eighteenth century, with the typical themes and rests of the concerto style. The movements are binary in shape, and are monothematic. The cut-and-dried second subject does not appear, presumably because the composer thought the single instrument's timbre precluded dramatic changes of theme. The interest is well sustained, and the sonata is a noteworthy addition to a small repertory.

Constant's trio in four movements gives ample rein to those high spirits which are sure to be generated when three skilled wind-players come together. The style is suitably flippant and charming, full of harmonic quirks. The clarinet has an excellent cadenza in the last movement, with comic comments from the bassoon.

So subtle an harmonic style as Hopkins's would surely have been happier in a different medium. If one can judge this music without reference to its difficulty or its lack of harmonic props one can say that

it is highly imaginative; but one must doubt whether it will ever be heard as satisfactorily as it was imagined in the first instance. Five short movements.

There are no land-marks in Dello Joio's theme, which is itself wayward; and if the eye sees little connection between theme and variations the ear hears less. But no matter; exciting evidence abounds of a lively and fantastic invention in each of these short movements, which are impromptus with a fragment of the theme for starting-point. The violin part is difficult but brilliant. One looks forward for more to enable one to see what is the fire that can throw off such sparks.

Rawsthorne's new cello sonata uses substantially the same technique of construction as his above-mentioned concerto. Fine and vigorous though the writing for both instruments is, the motto here seems less well fitted to sustain the weight it has to bear. The mood is sombre throughout, and the work might have been better for a little more unbuttoned diversity. There are again three movements, the second of which leads into the third. My criticism must not be taken to mean that this is not a fine work.

Phyllis Tate's sonata is a *tour de force* of the first order, revealing a wonderful sense of colour, which at times has to compensate for rather flimsy musical material. The slow third movement is one of the composer's most original conceptions. In the last movement the earlier material is used for some loose and brilliant variations. Both parts demand the highest skill.

Peter Wishart is clearly a name to be watched. His Cassation abounds in invention and technical competence in a difficult medium. There are eight movements but, except for the fanfare and fughetta, no compelling reason appears for playing them *en suite*. Some may find the introduction into the scherzo of a chorale with "wrong" harmonies a questionable proceeding, but it is part of the wit and delightful high spirits which are so prominent in the work.

I. K.

## REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

Nos. 13 and 14 of 'Tempo' (London, Boosey & Hawkes, 1949-50) make an interesting contribution to Béla Bartók literature. There is, no doubt, more advocacy than criticism in the numerous articles, and Sandor Veress, for instance, is felt in his elaborate analysis of 'Bluebeard's Castle' to have failed, in his admiration for the score, to face the serious objections invited by the work as a whole. This Hungarian 'Bluebeard' resembles some of Schoenberg's contemporary productions in one respect, that is to say, in the association of an original musical style with an already out-of-date literary fashion—the wishy-washy Maeterlinckian symbolism of the 1890s. Bartók's Bluebeard and Judith are wraiths of the same species as the unlucky lady in Schoenberg's 'Erwartung', in whose adventures it is impossible to take an interest, despite the ingenuity of the accompanying music, simply because she is not individualized. Similarly Bluebeard and Judith, in Bartók's opera, are not persons but mere abstractions—the representatives, in Veress's words, of "the eternal tragedy of the dualism of man and woman". It is a drama, he says, "of man's loneliness seeking complete fulfilment in woman and finding only partial satisfaction, and of woman who, in her devotion to man, sacrifices her whole being". Yes and no! Such, indeed, are the ideas; only they are not dramatized. The reader observes that, according to Veress, Bartók reveals himself as a highly individual revolutionary. This is not the view taken by another contributor, Mátyás Seiber, who, writing on the chamber works, declares: "Bartók was never a 'revolutionary'; his methods of composing were strictly orthodox, his technique firmly rooted in the European classical tradition."

Seiber's pages on the two violin sonatas which Bartók composed for Jelly d'Arányi are a reminder of some intensely characteristic music which, strangely enough in a time when the quartets are often played and some of the orchestral works are almost popular, has been neglected. We look for the analyst's explanation of the barrel-organ episode in the finale of the fourth Quartet, but are told no more than that it is a "surrealistic" idea. Incidentally he mentions a feat performed by the youthful Bartók, who (an enthusiastic Straussian in his student days) played the whole of 'Heldenleben' on the piano by heart.

John Weissmann writes on the piano music. Among the biographical articles is one by Ralph Hawkes, who disposes of reports that "Bartók was penniless at the time of his death and never received support from his publishers". "This is not true, and those who knew him well will vouchsafe that he himself would have had strong views on such statements." At the same time the writer has a critical remark or two to make about 'Ascap' (the American performing-rights society). Serge Moreux, in his little book on Bartók published last year (Paris, Richard-Masse), says that the composer died penniless and was buried at the expense of 'Ascap'. Ralph Hawkes concludes: "His sincerity was something that inspired me in a way that has been matched by only

one other composer." A bibliography of eight-and-a-half pages is a valuable compilation.

1-12 points

'Contre~~temp~~emps', No. 6 (edited by Fred Goldbeck and published by Richard-Masse, 5, Rue Mabillon, Paris), contains articles by Ernest Ansermet, Rollo Myers, Yvonne Lefébure, Pierre Boulez and Virgil Thomson. Charles Koechlin's paper, 'Art, Liberté, Tour d'Ivoire', is a consideration of Sovietic opinions on the artist's social duty and the excessive importance he is nowadays accused of attaching to "his own satisfaction" (according to some advanced minds, he has no right even to think of satisfying himself, his job being to satisfy the nation); and the consequent hostility towards the conception of the Ivory Tower and the doctrine of Art for Art's sake. Koechlin confesses to a soft spot in his heart for the sources of such ideas but he rejects the ideas themselves. As to "formalism", who has the right to decide where this appears in excess? The question is without an answer. As to the artist's right to satisfy himself, it is more than a right—it is a duty. In fact, Koechlin pronounces himself in favour of Liberty in Art. The "advanced" require of the musician that he shall write for the simplest of the "people", avoiding the involved "formalism of decadent middle-class culture". Our author replies that the true musician composes not for the burgesy or the people or any particular audience; he aims at a translation of his ideal of beauty, without thinking of anyone at all in the world. He writes to make manifest as best he can his inner being. Koechlin regrets the contemporary depreciation of Art for Art's Sake and the Ivory Tower, and rejects the assumption of social uselessness in the music of the Tower. "The higher the tower, the farther it throws its beneficent beams." Koechlin, in fact, is no consistent Left-Winger; where his art is concerned he is rather a Victorian Liberal, and a very moderate one at that, for he does not identify *vox populi* with *vox Dei*. The *âme des foules*, highly though he thinks of it in general, has coarse musical tastes; while Koechlin, for his part, has every reason to hope for the prolonged existence of refined intimate music. He draws the line at class-warfare in the arts, reminding us of Debussy's saying: "In art the victories one gains over oneself are the noblest victories."

Boulez, a young composer, looks with the eyes of the new age upon three related and contrasting compositions of a generation ago: Ravel's Mallarmé songs, Stravinsky's 'Japanese Poems' and Schoenberg's 'Pierrot Lunaire'. His attitude is respectful, his analysis subtle and detailed, his conclusions devastating. Anton Webern is considered as almost the whole of Schoenberg's justification. Schoenberg's own works he regards for the most part as purely documentary. Their necessity, once justified as explorations of the possibilities of musical language, is no longer felt. The fundamental shortcoming the critic finds in 'Pierrot Lunaire' is that, while the language is new, the thought remains that of an earlier day; and this discrepancy only becomes more pronounced as Schoenberg goes on. Nor does Ravel emerge with increased credit from this examination (the "sham-academician" in him is given a searching glance, as likewise are his contrapuntal pretensions). The analysis of the



three compositions under consideration defies summarizing; but, "in the absence of a total phenomenon", the critic fails to find in Stravinsky any more than in Schoenberg a "prophet", and he recognizes at the end "the partial atrophy" of the work of both masters. All three compositions represent the zenith of their authors. Each in his different way goes in for a kind of neo-classicism: "Ravel on the basis of tonal language in its coherent acceptance; Stravinsky on the same basis with an arbitrariness that is to lead him to total incoherence and gratuitousness; Schoenberg with his discovery of a coherent dodecaphonic language." At a recent hearing of the three works the critic's impression was of "miscarriages on three very different trajectories"—three failures to resolve the problems of their time and even to face those problems as a whole. "These works gain no glory from their varying degrees of uselessness. Their faults show up as disagreeable in one as another: mincing quackery in Ravel's case; starched and self-satisfied 'angelism' in Schoenberg's; pure and simple meanness in Stravinsky's. And in all three—boredom!"

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The Chopin number of 'La Rassegna Musicale' (36, Via Po, Rome) of October 1949 contains substantial articles by N. Slonimsky, M. Mila, R. Vlad, R. Caporali, V. Jankelevitch, G. Graziosi, M. Glinski and L. Ferrero. Here is one of Time's revenges—that J. W. Davison's reckless onslaughts in the old 'Musical World' should, after 100 years, come back to light in elegant Italian. Mila finds Chopin's "inactuality" not so much in the substitution of the moonlight of his time by present-day Neon lighting as in the fact that his music is essentially harmonic and homophonic, while to-day the almost universal impulse is "to emigrate towards the shores of a laborious counterpoint". He has a suggestive page on the modal inflections in Chopin's melody, which he derives from the influence of the ecclesiastical modes surviving in Polish folk-music. Roman Vlad has delved into Field and Hummel to find sources of Chopin's style. Caporali, in an interesting paper on Chopin's pianism, suggests that, long before Deppe, Breithaupt and Matthay, Chopin (a self-taught pianist) had discovered for himself the secret of the rotary movement of hand and arm. Technically Chopin's work stands to-day for "the corpus of the entire pianistic edifice". To overcome difficulties presented by later composers it is necessary only "to deepen or refine" the technique acquired in mastering Chopin's Studies and Berceuse.

Graziosi's article, too, is interesting. It is an appreciation of Cortot's interpretation of Chopin, with strictures upon most of the Chopin-playing we hear. "Perhaps no other music demands of the executant so continuous a control or so penetrating a research into the detail of values of sound, dynamics, tone-quality and agogy." The late Leo Ferrero sounds a different note. Chopin's is the music of adolescence—"the most tragic season of life", for "no grief is so unbearable as the grief we experience for the first time". Chopin does not so much express as reflect himself, the eternal adolescent. But only those who have once loved Chopin have the right to renounce him. Having loved and ceased to love, one should thank Heaven for the pleasure, once found and since renounced, of discovering oneself. Mila crosses swords with Julien Benda who has, it seems, made the discovery of a "popular front" Chopin, to be esteemed

by the force of his appeal to every Tom, Dick and Harry. Caporali examines the editions of Chopin, old and new, and awards the palm to that of the Oxford University Press of 1932.

In the Chopin number, October 1949, of the Vienna 'Österreichische Musikzeitschrift' Franz Zagiba has an article, 'Chopin and Vienna', mentioning the cancelled movement of the 'Don Giovanni' Variations, Op. 2, and Chopin's substitution, for his Vienna concerts of 1829, of the present fourth variation. Part of the cancelled piece, a bravura movement (now in the Vienna National Library), is here photographically reproduced.

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A recent production of 'Meistersinger' at Vienna provoked some anti-Wagnerian opinions which bring an apologia from Wilhelm Waldstein in the November-December 1949 number of the same magazine. There is some political animus in the new anti-Wagnerism, Hitler's patronage of Bayreuth being unforgotten. On more general grounds Wagner is declared out-of-date and his work is disparaged for its spuriously Rubens-like (*makartisch*) pompousness and intoxicated nationalism; it is (term of bitterest reproach in the vocabulary of the vanguard!) romantic, inactual; it is an escape into far-away legend and fairy-tale. Waldstein grants a measure of understanding to the new generation's alienation from Wagner. The fashion of to-day favours—in reaction to the prevailing atmosphere, so thick with uncertainties—minor forms of art and a facile, non-problematic, sketchlike production. "Nothing now seems so hard to put up with as long-drawn-out pathos." Four-and-a-half hours at a stretch of musical devotions (*Weihe*) seems to a secularized, disillusioned generation too much of a good thing.

Waldstein goes on to make admissions of his own. There is Wagner's undeniable humourlessness. The critic is not amused by Beckmesser, that painful caricature which does not enhance but rather detracts from Walther's success in the famous comedy. The contrast is altogether too gross. "Voll Blut und Duft geht schnell die Luft" (the quotation is from Beckmesser's song in the third act)—that, he says, is not humour. Then there is the question of Wagner's poetic (verbally poetic) powers. Waldstein is critical. "He was no artist in words." The verses in the earlier operas are hardly more than a fourth-form schoolboy's; and those of the later ones are persistently stilted with a far-fetched alliteration that verges at times upon the unintentionally funny. True, Wagner's verse is not fairly judged by a literary standard, intended as it was for association with music; "but the cadence of the musical declamation is often unduly affected by the oddity of the diction, and departs disastrously from that simplicity which in all ages has been the means of attaining the most direct effect". The critic also has something to say about the increasing obscurity of the symbolism in the course of Wagner's work.

Most vulnerable of all is Wagner's theory, in particular his doctrine of "exclusiveness"—the exclusiveness of his own principles as alone valid and progressive. But Waldstein now goes over to the defensive, beginning with the charge made against Wagner of having been a Nazi before the event. It is true that many things point in this direction: his chauvinism, his legendary romanticism, the position he took up in the racial dispute and the exaggerated value he ascribed to

"Nordic-pagan" notions. But all this, Waldstein maintains, meant no more for him than an artist's symbols, and he was just as ready to make symbolical use of Christian ideas. The man himself remained uncommitted. He himself no more "cringed at the Cross" (Nietzsche's reproach) in 'Parsifal' than he inclined to take Nordic mythology at a more than symbolical worth. Waldstein sees an abyss between Wagner's romantically naïve nationalism and the frigid unscrupulousness of the Hitlerian system. "It remained for National-Socialism to misrepresent all the great and enduring things of the past for its own purposes and to abase valid works of art to the level of the tricks of propaganda. Therein Richard Wagner had no part."

Not that Waldstein entertains any illusions about Wagner's character. But the man's arrogance and egoism are, he suggests, justified by the legacy he bequeathed to the world—the Works, so uniquely grand. To correct the impression made by latter-day depreciation he asks us to try to imagine what the world would be like if Wagner had never been or had not fulfilled his mission. True, German poetry, the social-cultural structure, and religious-philosophical ideas show little or no effects of his life's work. On the other hand, what music would without him have been cannot be conceived. In other respects Wagner was an episode, in music he was an epoch. "'Tristan' is nearly 100 years old, but its linear structure, its chromaticism, the chamber-music-like disposal of its orchestra, the radiance of its colouring, its economy and, first and foremost, its endless melody—all this is as glorious to-day as ever."

In the eulogy that follows the critic maintains that this is fundamentally "absolute" music. Wagner's greatness shows in his disregard of his own theories. The masterpieces would not be what they are if they had sprung merely from the composer's intentions. Something more than the conscious will went to the creation of this truly symphonic music. Wagner's theories are unconvincing. Much of his artistic philosophy and poetic ideas has been engulfed by the tides of time—but not the music.

\* \* \*

The first attempt at publishing Beethoven's conversation books is represented by a volume edited by Walter Nohl (Munich, 1922). In 1941-43 the Prussian State Library, which owns all the existing conversation books but two, published three volumes, giving the contents of thirty-eight of these books (February 1818 to July 1823), edited by the late Georg Schünemann. Otto Erich Deutsch, reviewing these volumes, brings his astonishing knowledge of old Viennese personalities and also of the dialect of Beethoven's time to the correction of slips made by the non-Viennese editor. There are three pages of these curious minutiae. Here, for instance, is a learned note on pastry and sausages: "Schünemann explains Beethoven's 'Presburger Magenbeigel' as 'round Pressburg sausages', but 'Magen' in Viennese dialect means 'Mohn' (i.e. poppy-seed) and any Viennese would recognize a Pressburger Beugel as a Mohnbeugel (i.e. poppy-seed pastry)." And again: "The Editor, interpreting Beethoven's 'Spejtriegel', suggests a derivation from *spielen* (= *spalten*), but what is meant is a spittoon." Deutsch tells us that the Berlin publication is very informative. Both Schindler and Nephew

Karl appear in a new light—Karl as less of a fribble and Schindler as less of a philistine than they are generally represented. About 100 of the conversation books remain unpublished.

\* \* \*

Alfred Orel, in the Zurich 'Schweizerische Musikzeitung' for February 1 1950, has an article on the first movement of Beethoven's eighth Symphony, illustrated with the ending of the movement as it was before Beethoven's expansion of the coda. Grove's readers have always known that the development in the coda, after the dominant fermata in bar 333, was added at some time between the first performance (at the Archduke Rudolf's, in 1813) and the publication of the symphony in 1816. An old timpani part belonging to the original version was known to Nottebohm, and there is also a violin part in the Paris Conservatory library. Orel says that recently there has come to light, in a private collection, a page in Beethoven's autograph, giving the original conclusion of the movement in score. This is a mere matter of ten comparatively conventional bars, instead of the forty-one (counting from the fermata) of the published and, of course, vastly improved version.

R. C.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'*

### TRENDS IN VIOLIN PLAYING

Sir,

May I add a comment to your article on Szigeti's book, 'With Strings Attached'? Like the author, the reviewer notes with some concern the change in the make-up of performers when technique came to take the place of spirituality, a change that began not between the great wars but much earlier—when that most earnest and painstaking pedagogue Ševčík placed the higher branches of technique within reach of all.

It was Ševčík's pupil Jan Kubelik who first showed violinists how the average audience can be conquered not by revelations of beauty but by freaks and feats. Other violinists before him had attempted Paganini's very questionable concertos with some success, but it was reserved for Kubelik to give them a place in the popular repertory. I have no intention of belittling the achievements of either teacher or pupil. I am merely stating a fact, one which, incidentally, appears to have a parallel in modern composition. Not long ago I heard three chamber works in which every possible technical device was exploited from left-hand pizzicato to "sur la touche"—as if the composer had been afraid that without the seasoning his dish might seem unpalatable.

Kreisler's art and temperament taught us to appreciate better things for a while. But recently technique has seemed to be in the ascendant again, and not a few of the violinists who have visited London in the last few years have had little to commend them beyond mechanical skill. So much alike are they that if they were to perform behind a screen not even the expert could tell one from another. Undoubtedly the old methods were harder—when violinists had to form their own conceptions of a great concerto and devise their own way of perfecting execution, until it conveyed to the listener their own emotion, their own thought.

At present I fear it is too often a gramophone record that takes the place of inspiration. For some of the readings of the older masters were inspired. No one who heard Sarasate play the introduction to the last movement of Mendelssohn's concerto or Lady Hallé play those few slow bars which prelude the finale of Handel's A major sonata can ever forget that subtlety, that depth, that insight into the artist's "agitated soul".

Szigeti sees a reaction on the way. I am also told that Americans are beginning to grow tired of the inhuman faultlessness of their orchestras. In London orchestral playing has not been such as to make us long for wrong notes or accents; but London audiences would give a very warm welcome to a violinist who, like the late Ginette Neveu, possessed individuality as well as high technical accomplishment.

London, N.W.

F. B.

## A LITTLE BACH DISCOVERY

Sir,

In two articles, 'Zur Bach-Forschung', in S.I.M.G. IV and V, 1903-4, Arnold Schering showed that not all the sixteen concertos transcribed by Bach for solo harpsichord were based on originals by Vivaldi. Several were by the Duke Johann Ernst of Saxe-Weimar, one by Telemann and another, the third of the set, was attributed to Benedetto Marcello. The ground for this last attribution was the existence of a MS copy of the Bach transcription, with the title 'Concerto di B. Marcello, accommodé au Clavessin de J. S. Bach', in the Court Library at Darmstadt, and MS parts, in a different key, one of them bearing the indication 'Concerto a 5: Hautbois, Violino primo, Violino secundo, Viola, Basso continuo di Marcello', in the Grand Ducal Library at Schwerin.

In an article, 'Un concerto di Vivaldi attribuito a Marcello', in a booklet, 'La scuola veneziana', published in connection with the Siena Festival of 1941, S. A. Luciani challenged Schering's attribution. He considered the style of the work typically Vivaldian and quite different from what might have been expected from Benedetto Marcello. No additional evidence was produced, and in 'Musica e dischi' for August 1949 Pietro Berri tried to restore the work, in Italian eyes, to Benedetto Marcello, on the ground that it does not appear in the thematic catalogues of Vivaldi's works that have been published in recent years. This drew a reply from Luciani, who, while insisting on the generally Vivaldian style of the concerto, put forward a new hypothesis—that it might well be the work of Benedetto Marcello's elder brother Alessandro.

The concertos by the elder Marcello, published at Augsburg in 1738, were known to Schering, who discussed them in his 'Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts' (Leipzig, 1905) and published one movement from the fourth of them in a modern edition. But he failed to examine the

Concerti a Cinque, con violini, oboè, violetta, violoncello e basso continuo, de [sic] Signori G. Valentini, A. Vivaldi, T. Albinoni, F. M. Veracini, G. St. Martin, A. Marcello, G. Rampin, A. Predieri,

published at Amsterdam, "chez Jeanne Roger" (no date), of which there is a copy in the British Museum. If he had done so, he would have found that the second concerto in this collection, attributed on all the parts to Alessandro Marcello, is identical with the third of the Bach transcriptions, the supposed concerto by Benedetto Marcello. Furthermore, the Amsterdam edition gives the work in the same key as the Bach transcription; hitherto it has been thought that Bach transposed it.

Luciani's hypothesis is thus abundantly justified.

52 Darrick Wood Road,  
Orpington, Kent.

FRANK WALKER.

## "VOICE-LEADING"

Sir,

Professor Dent praises the English of Alfred Einstein's 'Italian Madrigal'. Does this mean that he approves of the word "voice-leading" which recurs times without number in that work? I was puzzled for a moment the first time I came across it, and then realized



that it represented "Stimmführung" (*i.e.* part-writing). What right has this neologism to enter the vocabulary? What does *Stimmführung* or "voice-leading" mean that part-writing doesn't? I have just turned up Riemann's definition of *Stimmführung*. He says that it is the term used in musical syntax to denote the individual conduct of voices in a combination and that it indicates the difference between real parts and padding. Is not that exactly what "part-writing" denotes?

Voice-leading ought not to be countenanced, for it is a bad formation. "Voice-conducting" would be better, though unnecessary. I suppose that the many writers of German origin who in the last decade or two have done us the honour of adopting our language find our poor vocables inexpressive. I noticed in a recent version of Rilke the poet's "morgenrötliche Grate" became "morning-reddening grates". "Ridges" would for some reason not serve the purpose. I don't know whether the language of the future is to be a kind of Dogger Bank tongue, neither English nor German; but it is not the business of MUSIC & LETTERS to hasten its coming.

A. M. McL.

London, S.W.

Professor Dent writes: "Let me assure A. M. McL. that I wholeheartedly agree with his views on German-American musicological jargon, and am cordially grateful to him for having written his letter to you. As to Dr. Einstein's alleged abuse of it, I certainly noticed 'voice-leading' here and there, but thought it a pity to carp at it in view of the general seemliness of his language. In reviews of other books by authors of recent American citizenship I have censured that word, and others that are worse, as severely as I could, and I am glad to observe that some of my learned colleagues in this country have done the same. I hope they will be even more severe on English writers who think it rather *chic* to adopt the same jargon, presumably under the impression that it is classical American and therefore up to date and fashionable."

#### HAYDN

Sir,

Though I cannot claim to be a librarian (even a puzzled one), nor an addict of Köchel and Nottebohm (two of the classes of readers to whom the Rev. Geoffrey Cuming addressed his helpful article 'Haydn: where to begin' in the October number of 'Music & Letters' I hope that I am at least an habitual Haydn student, and therefore may be allowed to express my sincere appreciation of Mr. Cuming's work as a whole, while differing from him in certain particulars. When writing about the string quartet version of 'The Seven Last Words' he says, "The inclusion of these among the string quartets is to be deprecated, as the quartet version of this work is only an arrangement, and it is illogical, because it should count as only one work; no other single movements are included."

Whatever is to be deprecated must be laid at Haydn's door. In a letter to his publisher Artaria, dated 21st June, 1787, Haydn wrote, with his own odd spelling: "Ich habe die 7 Wort sowohl im ganzen, als auch im quartet und den Clavier Auszug selbst übersehen." Two days later he wrote again, saying "Übersende die Correctur der 7 wörth in allen 3

17  
gattungen." Finally in July 1787 the 'Wiener Zeitung' announced: "Dieses nämliche Werk ist auch von dem Meister selbst in Quartetten gesetzt worden, nämlich auf 2 Violin, Viola und Violoncello sie sind bereits in der Arbeit und werden bis künftigen August schön gestochen fertig sein." As to the "arrangement", there was very little actual arranging about it, for in the original version for orchestra the string instruments carried the main fabric of the music; and their parts could therefore be transferred to the string quartet with few radical re-adjustments. When Pleyel brought out his great edition of Haydn's quartets a dozen or so years later, he included the sonatas of the 'Seven Last Words' as Nos. 50 to 56: a procedure followed exactly by Haydn in his 1805 Catalogue of his own works.

On the count of "illogicality" one may ask whether a work for two violins, viola and cello is debarred from being a string quartet when it happens to be in one movement. If so, then we must relinquish Schubert's 'Quartettsatz' and Hugo Wolf's 'Italian Serenade'. Yet another point. Mr. Cuming, still on the subject of chamber music, states that "the 'Echo' for four groups of players is certainly spurious." His is slightly worse—it is chimerical. Whatever be the authenticity of the original 'Echo' it is for two, not four groups of players as he says, and is, in fact, a sextet.

MARION M. SCOTT.

London, W.2.

Sir,

In Geoffrey Cuming's very welcome paper, 'Haydn: Where to Begin' in your issue for October 1949 there is one small misstatement that I wish to rectify. Mr. Cuming states that Haydn's piano variations have never been published together, and then gives a list thereof. But I possess a Peters volume in which all the variations and the three single pieces by Haydn are contained, except, of course, the four-hand ones 'Il maestro e lo scholare'. The contents of this volume show some discrepancies with the given list, namely (1) the variations in A number only eighteen, not twenty as given in the list, and (2) a set of five variations in C minor on 'La Roxelane' is included, which Mr. Cuming does not list.

HANS TISCHLER.

Roosevelt College of Chicago.

#### OXFORD BOOKS AND PORTRAITS

Sir,

Your readers may be glad of the following information.

The Heron-Allen collection of books on the history of the violin and the Sanford Terry Bach collection, both formerly at the Royal College of Music, are now in the library of the Faculty of Music at Oxford, on permanent loan.

We also have in our possession the portraits of musicians formerly hung in the Examination Schools.

J. A. WESTRUP.

University of Oxford,  
Faculty of Music.

## THOMAS MORLEY

Sir,

I am preparing for publication (Dent & Sons) a modernized and annotated edition of Morley's 'Plaine and Easie Introduction', at the end of which occurs a list of 'Authors' whom Morley has consulted. Some of the names in this list are not to be found in any of the standard works of reference, and of others I can find but scanty information. I should be very grateful, therefore, if any of your readers could either give me more details concerning those individuals indicated in the accompanying list or else suggest where I may search myself.

17 Church Street,  
Durham.

R. A. HARMAN.

*Late Writers:* Incertus Impressus Basiliac, Coregiensis (Manfredus Barbarinus). *Foreign Composers:* Craen (Nicholas)—15th-16th cent., Ghiselin (Johannes (Jean))—15th-16th cent., Sylvanus (Andreas)—first half 16th cent., Antonius a Vinea, Tzamen (Thomas) first half 16th cent., Jacques de Vert., Jacques du Pont., Luyr (Adam)—16th cent., Locatello (Jean Baptiste)—mid-16th cent., Hurtuer, Rinaldo del Mel, Richafort (Jean) first half 16th cent., De Orto (Marbriano) 15th-16th cent., Meyer (Gregorius) early 16th cent., Ingelini (Angelini) (Orazio)—second half 16th cent. *English Composers:* Orwell (Robert)—contemporary of Dunstable, Wilkinson (Robert) 15th-16th cent., Wilkinson (Thomas) 13th cent., Davis (Robert)—second half 13th cent., Rigby—first 16th cent., Grig (Morgan), Sturton (Edmund) 15th-16th cent., Jacket, Corbrand, Testwood (Robert) 16th cent., Ungle, Beech, Hodges, Selby (Shelbye) (William)—first half 16th cent., Ocland (Christopher), Newton (Dr.), Thorne—15th-16th cent., Averie—mid 16th cent. *Names in Text but not in List:* Jacobus de Naveria, Lengenbrunner (Johann) mid-16th cent., Bartolus and Baldus celebrated 16th? cent. lawyers.

## THE VIOLA

Sir,

May I, in the light of Mr. Halfpenny's review of my book, 'The Instruments of Music', recant concerning the ideal viola size? My statement that this should be in the relation 3 : 2 to that of the violin, on the simple grounds that the vibration speeds of two notes a fifth apart are as 2 : 3, was thoughtless and erroneous.

Mr. Clifford A. Hoing, of High Wycombe, a maker of excellent violas, reminds me that to enlarge the linear measurements of the violin by  $\frac{2}{3}$  gives :  $\frac{2}{3}$  (length)  $\times \frac{2}{3}$  (width)  $\times \frac{2}{3}$  (depth) =  $\frac{2^3}{3^3} = 3\frac{2}{3}$  times the size of the violin! To enlarge the cubic capacity by  $\frac{2}{3}$  means multiplying by the cubic root of  $\frac{2}{3}$ , which gives a body length of only  $16\frac{1}{4}$  in. Since it is the cubic capacity and not the linear measurement which affects the natural resonance of the contained air, and thereby the timbre characteristic of the instrument, it is the cubic and not the linear calculation which is relevant. And that I think answers me, and confirms Mr. Halfpenny's worst suspicions.

I am doubly grateful for this correction because it explains in a flash what has long puzzled me: the seemingly small proportions of the best tenor viols. The sizes of viols vary within much wider limits than the sizes of the violin family. Some large and some small violas sound very well; so do some very large and some very small tenor viols. I have in my possession a tenor viol of quite outstanding tone; its pitch is G to g' (with a possible variant of A to a' at highest); and its body length is just 16 in., or  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. shorter than the  $16\frac{1}{4}$  in. which Mr. Halfpenny and

Mr. Hoing agree upon as average for the best violas, at a pitch of C to a' (and remember how much higher a viola-player will climb up his top a' string than a tenor viol-player). But this tenor viol is decidedly deep in the ribs (2 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.) and has therefore a larger contained volume of air than its mere length suggests. It is volume and not length that we should expect to be the basic operative factor. That instruments of unusual volumes do nevertheless often sound well merely goes to show what is already obvious, that other factors enter, and not only volume.

I am not quite in agreement with Mr. Halfpenny's view that the obsolete tenor violin (G to e') was no loss. That "for the greater part of the eighteenth century composers seem to have had the greatest difficulty even in knowing what to do with their violas" is precisely the measure of their decline from the typical five-part harmony of the preceeding era, and was no doubt the cause of the tenor violin's obsolescence. But that Wagner or Mahler or Vaughan Williams would not have found, or that the last-named might not still find, a valuable and characteristic use for violin tone of true tenor calibre and richness there is simply no persuading me. As for "block chords on a massive wind section", that is only one of many resources, and not necessarily the most useful, gained by completing existing wood-wind families in all their natural sizes. Possibly the most valuable would be the ability to combine four or five reeds, for example, at all pitches, but with a uniformity of colour not provided by scoring, as at present, for flute, oboe, clarinet and bassoon. I no longer feel confident as to the dynamics of the Tourte-pattern, incurved bow; but as a matter of experience I have no doubt, and I do not suppose Mr. Halfpenny has either, that the pre-Tourte, incurved bow feels harder and more incisive in practice, and is as greatly preferable for Bach or Purcell as the modern bow is for Brahms or Richard Strauss.

ROBERT DONINGTON.

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